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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A CRITICAL STUDY OF EDWARD WARD

by



ALBERT WILLIAM JENSEN

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and  
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance,  
a thesis entitled "A CRITICAL STUDY OF EDWARD WARD," submitted  
by ALBERT WILLIAM JENSEN in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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## ABSTRACT

Edward Ward has been almost completely overlooked by literary critics. Most references to him appear in the footnotes of historical texts. Even the works that deal with him directly fail to consider his work from a critical point of view.

This thesis attempts to approach Ward as a "writer." His works are treated as literature, not as historical pieces which have value only as interesting but relatively worthless Augustan artifacts. There seems to be little doubt that Ward was an influence on later writers. An attempt is made here to understand what it was in his work that was original and what general patterns, where applicable, he is part of. Since Ward was responsible for over 100 publications it was necessary to limit the discussion to his two most important, Hudibras Redivivus, a satiric political poem, and The London Spy, a monthly publication which consists of a reported stroll through London.

The first chapter of the thesis discusses the method Ward uses in Hudibras Redivivus and its reference to contemporary events. The second chapter deals with the differences between Hudibras Redivivus and its model, Butler's Hudibras. This is combined with a discussion of the nature of successful satire and the failure of Hudibras Redivivus to satisfy the requirements demanded of good satire. Ward's party loyalty, inability to distance himself from his subject matter and lack of imagination are discussed. The third chapter is



concerned with Ward's London Spy. Discussed are Ward's journalistic style, his ability to write accurate and entertaining descriptions of contemporary London, his concern with needed social change, his use of the "character sketch," and an estimate of the contemporary effectiveness and lasting value of The London Spy. The fourth chapter discusses briefly Ward's possible influence on later writers, particularly the periodical essayists and the novelists, through his journalistic innovations, his emphasis upon action against a dramatic background, and his colloquial style.



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## INTRODUCTION

The first known reference to Grubstreet, in its use as a synonym for hack writing, appeared in 1660. However, the Grubstreet denounced by Pope and Swift flourished in the latter part of the seventeenth and in the first part of the eighteenth century. Grubstreet, which is today called Milton Street, near Moorfields in London, was the center of the popular publishing industry, and has become a metaphor for "Dullness." Edward Ward, who wrote from 1698 to 1731, was one of the most published and most prosperous of the Grubstreet fraternity and was responsible for a number of literary innovations which some scholars have claimed influenced writers as important as Swift and Addison.

Ward's literary career can be dated from the publication of his first successful piece in 1698, A Trip to Jamaica, to his Apollo's Maggot in his Cups, or the Whimsical Creation of a Little Satirical Poet (1729), a reply to Pope's placing him among the dunces in The Dunciad. It is noteworthy that when Ward died on June 22, 1731 he was not starving but comfortably established as a respectable tavern-keeper, no mean achievement for a Grubstreet writer. His success as a writer is, between 1700 and 1712, matched only by that of Defoe, and the most popular of Ward's works, A Trip to Jamaica and The London Spy, were greatly imitated. The London Spy went through five editions



while Hudibras Redivivus went through four, and his works were in enough demand to warrant a five-volume edition of the collected writings issued in 1709. In 1717-18 the collected works were again issued as a six-volume set under the general title Miscellanies. During his career Ward issued over one hundred different titles, most of which went through more than one edition, and many through three or four.

Very little effort has been spent studying the Grubstreet phenomenon and even less on the individual writers which it created. Ward owes most of what little attention he has received to the fact that Pope included him as one of his dunces in The Dunciad and to the fact that Ward's writings are concerned with the contemporary London scene, both political and social, and have been of value to historians attempting to draw a more complete picture of Augustan London than is available in the writings of men such as Addison, Steele, Boswell and Johnson. Ward, however, has much of value to offer to the individual patient enough to read his works seriously and who does not allow himself to become prejudiced by the bad notices the Grubstreet writers received from their more conservative contemporaries and the critics that followed them.

The only in-depth study of Ward was written by Howard William Troyer, published in 1946, and titled Ned Ward of Grubstreet. It is of limited value, however, as a critical work, devoting its pages primarily to discussions of historical background, and to summaries of Ward's writings. These are accompanied by occasional examples from



Ward's texts. What little literary criticism is included is given as side comment and seldom supported. Philip Pinkus, in his Grubstreet Stripped Bare (1968), devotes a number of pages to Ward, but again with little or no critical comment. Edward Ames Richards touches on Ward in Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition (1937), but although his work is of a more critical nature it is concerned with Butler and his imitators and has only a small and necessarily limited concern for the work of Ward. A few articles concerning Ward appeared in the 1930's, William Eddy's "Ned Ward and Lilliput" which appeared in Notes and Queries in 1930, G.S. McCues' "A Seventeenth-Century Gulliver," which appeared in Modern Language Notes in 1935, and Frederick S. Rockwell's "A Probable Source for Gulliver's Travels" which appeared in Notes and Queries in 1935, but as the titles indicate the concern is narrow and is limited to Ward's relationship to Swift rather than a study of Ward's writings themselves. The situation is made even more difficult by the fact that aside from five of Ward's "Travel Scripts" printed in 1933, editions of The London Spy printed in 1924 and 1927 and an 1828 edition of Female Policy Dictated, Or the Arts of Designing Women Laid Open no work of Ward's has been printed since the end of the eighteenth century. He is thus generally unavailable in the original, with the listed exceptions, or through critical studies.

Most of the critical work which has been done with Ward, aside from the fact that it is usually concerned with Ward only in a secondary sense, is dated and a result of sensibilities which are no longer



current. In his introduction to the 1927 edition of The London Spy Arthur L. Hayward states:

There is a tavern atmosphere throughout the book; it is mainly the seamy side of London life that is exposed to view. Most men are knaves and most women harlots; and he has little good to say of anyone unless it be of the mighty in the land, of whom he writes with somewhat cringing loyalty.

The London Spy has not been in general circulation because of the grossness of the language in which it was written. But although this adds a certain meretricious point to the style, it has no intrinsic value and the book loses nothing by expurgation. At the same time it should be remembered that the Stuart women read little; like most of his contemporaries, Ward wrote exclusively for men, and for men who did not suffer from squeamishness. In modern values, he merely expressed himself with the directness of the four-ale bar rather than with the evasion and circumlocution of the teashop.

(Hayward, The London Spy, x)

The fact is that Ward suffers greatly from "expurgation," and as a result the Hayward edition of The London Spy, which is the only readily available edition, is of questionable value to anyone wanting a true picture of Ward's style and methods. Although H.W. Troyer is much less "squeamish" than Hayward, the same sense of distaste for Ward's use of lurid detail and simile is a criticism regularly brought against the Grubstreet author. There is a distinct need for an examination of Ward's work on its own terms and in a more modern idiom with an emphasis on its success as literature, where appropriate, and without a preconceived belief in the author's failure as a writer before he has been read.





This essay will concern itself with two of Ward's most ambitious and most representative works, The London Spy and Hudibras Redivivus. The former is undoubtedly his finest production and displays, if not greatness, then at least a sensitive mind and a natural ability. His style is unique and interesting and often excellent. The latter work, while not generally of the same quality as The London Spy, is Ward's only attempt at extended political satire and is also, aside from his adaptation of Don Quixote in 1711, the best example of his use of the octosyllabic couplet, which he used almost exclusively when writing verse. An attempt will be made to study these two works as independent literary productions. Since Ward is within the Hudibrastic tradition his use of, and relation to Butler will be studied. His place within the political and social milieu as well as his function as a party propagandist and satirist and his ability to write satire will also be discussed. This essay will concentrate on Ward's strengths and weaknesses as a "separate" and "unique" author and seek to evaluate Hudibras Redivivus and The London Spy on their own merits.



## CHAPTER I

### WARD'S HUDIBRAS REDIVIVUS

In August of 1705 Edward Ward published "the first number of his most ambitious and widely known political efforts, Hudibras Redivivus, or a Burlesque Poem upon the Times."<sup>1</sup> The poem was issued in monthly installments and modeled after Samuel Butler's Hudibras, as were Ward's Vulgus Britannicus, or the British Hudibras, his two-volume adaptation of Don Quixote and various shorter pieces.

Hudibras Redivivus, which Ward framed as a stroll through London, can be roughly divided into three parts<sup>2</sup> according to the subject matter and his attitude towards it. The first division extends from Volume One, Part One through Volume One, Part Nine, issued during the period from August 28, 1705 to April 8, 1706. These issues are highly political in nature and are written in a spirit of rising Tory fury, a result of the loss of favor suffered by the Tory party during the period in which these numbers appeared, and culminates with a roughly worded attack on the Queen in Volume One, Part Five, Canto XII. The result of Ward's "Hudibrastic" indignation with the monarch was the first of a number of arrests which occurred on February 7, 1706 and ended with his finally being sentenced to a fine of 40 Marks and two hours in the pillory on November 7, 1706. From



the time of his first arrest, which occurred about a month before Volume One, Part Ten appeared, the political content becomes less biting and less frequent. By Volume One, Part Ten it has almost disappeared. The second section of the work consists of Volume One, Part Ten to Volume Two, Part Six. Ward's emphasis is now on social satire and concentrates on such subjects as a Quaker meeting and a mountebank, along with descriptions of Smithfield Rounds, Bartholomew Fair and the Lord Mayor's Day parade. Although there are occasional political references in these parts, they occur infrequently and were general enough, or well enough disguised, to enable Ward to evade charges of libel and arrest. The final section, Volume Two, Parts Seven to Twelve, consists of a versified adaptation of The History of the Grand Rebellion by Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, originally published in 1704. For Ward, who put it into the form of a coffee-house debate, "It was an inexhaustible source of material with the additional advantage that one could not be prosecuted for poetizing history."<sup>3</sup> Of the three sections, this last is the least laudable and is as free of artistic merit as it is of political libel.

Ward's High Tory party suffered defeat in the election of the summer of 1705. The Queen had given small concessions to the Whigs which, coupled with reproaches by the Tackers<sup>4</sup> in pamphlets directed against the Queen, gave the impression that the Queen was becoming pro-Whig. The result was to the advantage of the Whigs. In October of 1705 the Queen's speech was given to Parliament and suggested a policy which was decidedly Whiggish:<sup>5</sup>



She urged on the Houses the necessity of a Treaty of Union with Scotland; she spoke with bitter indignation of those who said the Church of England was in danger under her government; and she declared that "we have grounds to hope that, by the blessing of God upon our allies, a good foundation is laid for restoring the Monarchy of Spain and the House of Austria."<sup>6</sup>

The split between the Queen and the High Tories widened during the Winter of 1705. This split caused a great deal of frustration for High-Church Party members like Edward Ward. In the January 1706 number of Hudibras Redivivus Ward gave expression to his frustration, "in a thinly disguised diatribe against the Queen, accusing her of fine words but of failing to support them with action:"<sup>7</sup>

But that which makes Church-men wonder,  
And strikes them worse than Bolt of Thunder,  
Is that an E[n]glish H[ear]t of Oak,  
Who, like a Friend, so kindly spoke,  
Should put upon them such a Joke,  
And make 'em by Experience find,  
That Woman's words are only Wind . . .  
Fair Promises avail but little,  
Like too rich Pye-crust they're so brittle,  
They seldom signify a Tittle.  
Good Deeds become an E[n]glish H[ear]t  
Fine Words don't countervail a F[ar]t.  
Heroic Actions are alone  
The Glories of a Camp and Throne.<sup>8</sup>

The result of the attack on the Queen and her ministry was published in a 1706 issue of the London Gazette:

Edward Ward, being convicted of Writing, Printing and Publishing, several Scandalous and Seditious Libels, (Entitled, Hudibras Redivivus: or, a Burlesque Poem on the Times) highly Reflecting upon Her Majesty and the Government; was likewise on Thursday last fined for the same by the Court of Queen's-Bench 40 Marks,





and ordered to stand in the Pillory on Wednesday next at Charing-Cross for the space of One Hour, between Twelve and Two in the Afternoon, with a Paper on his Head denoting his Offence; and also to stand in the Pillory on Thursday next near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill in like Manner: and, before he be discharged out of Prison, he is to give Security for his good Behavior for One Year.<sup>9</sup>

The outspoken quality of the political literature written during the reign of Anne was due to a number of influences; however, the lapse, in 1695, of the Licensing Act, "which had somewhat erratically permitted printing only by government authority,"<sup>10</sup> was a primary factor. The government had imposed the Licensing Act in 1662 to control pamphleteering. "It limited the number of printers, appointed licensers to assess the political loyalty of printed material, and appointed a king's messenger with powers to enter and search for unlicensed presses and printing."<sup>11</sup> Roger L'Estrange, a strong Royalist and later editor of the Tory Observer, was appointed "Surveyor of the Imprimery," or chief licenser. In 1663 L'Estrange published Considerations and Proposals in order to the Regulation of the Presses,<sup>12</sup> which is a political document suggesting the rules by which the Chief Licensor should govern himself while performing his duties.

Penalties under L'Estrange were extremely severe. In 1664 John Twyn, a printer who published a book which justified the execution of Charles I, was found guilty of high treason and sentenced:

to be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, there to be hanged, cut down while alive, his privy parts and entrails to be taken out and burnt before



his eyes, his head to be cut off, his body divided into four quarters "to be disposed of at the pleasure of the King's Majesty." And the Lord was formally requested to have mercy upon his soul.<sup>13</sup>

Needless to say, L'Estrange was able to keep the press relatively quiet. There were a number of skirmishes between L'Estrange and the pamphleteers, but even with the dismissal of the Chief Licensor in the Whig takeover of 1688 the presses were not significantly free until the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695.

Although the lapse did not stop government reprisals, it did make the pamphleteer's life easier, for he could print without permission, and the penalties for breaking the libel laws were much less severe than they had been before 1695. Instead of the horrors that were carried out against John Twyn, the offender was threatened with a fine, imprisonment, and the pillory. And the last of these was not always effective as a punishment, as Defoe proved in 1703 when, "the Dissenters of London swarmed around Defoe, hailed him as their champion and pelted him with flowers."<sup>14</sup>

The relative freedom of the presses, however, coupled with bitter party strife resulted in extremely violent literature and precipitated new restrictions. On March 26, 1702 an act was passed directed at the control of treasonable and seditious writings. It proposed "to restrain the spreading of false news, printing or publishing irreligious or seditious papers and libels, reflecting on her Majestie or on the government, or upon any of her public ministers, officers &c., and that the offender should be proceeded against with



the utmost severity of the law."<sup>15</sup> One of those who were "proceeded against" was Edward Ward, for the section of Hudibras Redivivus which, to say the least, "reflected on her Majestie."

By the second edition of Hudibras Redivivus, which was issued in 1708, the offending lines on the Queen had been reduced to :  
 "Good Deeds become an English Heart;/ Fine words are full of Fraud and Art."<sup>16</sup>

Ward's work is particularly anti-Low-Church and anti-Dissenter. In this respect he is typically High-Church Tory and reflects sentiments that led a number of pamphleteers into trouble during 1705 and 1706. One of the primary controversies that erupted in the period, and one which eventually led to Ward's statement about the Queen, was that created by the High-Church cry: "The Church is in Danger." Perhaps the most inflammatory work of the period was Dr. James Drake's The Memorial of the Church of England, humbly offered to the Consideration of all True Lovers of our Church and Constitution, which appeared in 1705. The quality of the piece was extreme to say the least:

The principles of the Church of England will dispose men to bear a great deal, but he's a Madman who tries how much: for when men are very much provoked, nature is very apt to rebel against principle, and then the odds are vast on nature's side. Whether the provocation given to the Church of England may not, if continued, be strong enough to rouse nature, some of our statesmen would do well to consider in time.<sup>17</sup>

Whether the situation was "strong enough to rouse nature" was open to debate,<sup>18</sup> but there was no doubt that it roused Anne and the Whig



administration. A reward was offered for the capture of the author of The Memorial, but despite the fact that Drake's printer, David Edwards, was arrested and promised a pardon in return for the name of the author he remained loyal and the Whigs never discovered Drake's identity. The Grand Jury of London ordered The Memorial itself burned in August of 1705.<sup>19</sup>

It is of interest that Ward's defence of The Memorial, which appeared in Hudibras Redivivus, Volume One, Part Two, is not written with his usual pro-High-Church abandon. This could be because by the time the number devoted to The Memorial was printed, Drake's work had already gone to the fire and its foremost defender, William Pittis, had been committed to the Tower for his objections to the burning of The Memorial in a pamphlet entitled The Bonfire. It could also be that Ward objected to the radical and revolutionary propositions expressed by Drake and that he defended the work largely because of his friendship with Tom Brown.<sup>20</sup> It was not like Ward to take unnecessary chances, as the change in the subject matter of Hudibras Redivivus after his conviction shows, and by the time he defended it there was no doubt that The Memorial was a dangerous subject. However, Ward must have felt some obligation to come to the defence of a fellow High-Churchman and a man who was, if not a personal friend, an acquaintance. The defence, regardless of its motivation, is lukewarm and progresses through a series of apologies for the methods and extreme stand taken in The Memorial and a number of digressions attempting to prove that the danger from the Dissenters warrants an extreme reaction,







and finally resolves itself into a predictable party comment:

Now to the Bugbear Book again  
 That puts the Whigs in so much Pain,  
 I conn'd o'er all this famous Piece,  
 That so disturbed Old Calvin's Geese,  
 And all the fault they can insist on,  
 Is, it's too true to make a Jest on.  
 As for my part, I must confess  
 It is, if I may've Leave to guess,  
 An honest High-Church Book of Mer't  
 Tho' written with a Low-Church Spirit:  
 That here and there a sharp Reflection  
 May seem to some, ill-natured Fiction  
 Tho' true beyond all Contradiction.<sup>21</sup>

In November of 1705 another controversy arose which received attention in Hudibras Redivivus. On the 15th of November, Lord Haversham, a recent Tory convert, made a speech in the House of Lords on the state of the nation. In it he accused England's allies in the war against France of misconduct,<sup>22</sup> complaining: "If it be our Misfortune to have Allies that are so slow and backward as We are zealous and foreward, that hold our Hands, and suffer us not to take any Opportunity that offers, that are coming into the field, when we are going into Winter-Quarters, I cannot see what it is we are reasonably to expect."<sup>23</sup> He also pointed out that while England was suffering from the costs of the war, the Dutch were making money, taking advantage of remittances from England and expending little in support of Portugal, Savoy, or the German Princes. His concern with the war, however, was simply a preamble leading up to the most important section of the speech, a motion to bring Sophia, the Dowager Electress of Hanover, to England: this in spite of the fact that the Queen



despised the idea of a rival court in England and had written to Marlborough, "that to have Sophia, or the Elector George, or even the Electoral Prince over here was 'a thing I cannot bear, though but for a week.'" <sup>24</sup> The Tory strategy was to estrange the Whigs from Anne by forcing them to invite the Electress or her son to England and, if they refused, to ruin them with the English people by denouncing them as against the Protestant Succession.

Haversham later had the speech printed and distributed as a pamphlet and as a result ran up against Defoe. Defoe felt that he was within his rights to comment on an anonymous pamphlet and by doing so was in no way interfering with the transactions of Parliament. He stated that "The Anonymous author is nothing to me, be he a Lord or a Tinker." <sup>25</sup> It is at this point that Ward becomes involved, commenting on Haversham's speech and then on Defoe's reaction to it. Ward carries this out in his usual informal manner. He describes his coming across a pamphlet vendor, while taking a stroll through London, and stopping, for lack of anything else to do, to buy a copy of Haversham's speech:

So out I pull'd a piece of Copper,  
And bought this celebrated Paper;  
I conn'd it o'er, it proving witty,  
With as much Pleasure as a City  
Apprentice does a new Love-Ditty.  
No fault could I discover in't,  
Except too true to put in print  
At such a Time when 'tis the Fashion  
With Lies and Shams to gull the Nation  
And with destructive Quirks and Tricks,  
Those damn'd Fanatic Politicks,  
To draw the Crowd from their Allegiance,  
Into a State of Disobedience. <sup>26</sup>



Ward agrees with Haversham's points regarding the progress of the war and in the next section mentions them specifically:

Why should a Subject be debarr'd  
From saying 'tis unjustly hard  
That we should lead the Martial Dance,  
To save the Dutch from Spain and France,  
And still th' ingrateful, thankless Skippers,  
Shall make poor England pay the Pipers.<sup>27</sup>

The misconduct, however, of Prince Lewis of Baden and the Dutch generals in the march of the army to Moselle and at Overisch was a subject on which the whole country agreed.<sup>28</sup> It was the suggestion with regards to Sophia that was controversial and for some reason Ward declines to discuss it, stating that another pamphlet salesman had interrupted, "E'er I could make my observation/ Upon the Han'ver invitation."<sup>29</sup>

Possibly the most interesting aspect of this section is Ward's comment on Defoe's opinion of Haversham's speech. Ward had obtained a copy of Defoe's pamphlet from the vendor who had interrupted his comments upon the invitation to Sophia. He writes of this pamphlet:

Eager of knowing what was in't,  
Expecting Wit or Argument  
From so bold a Champion, that should dare  
To thus confront a Noble Peer;  
I read, and read, still forward went,  
But wonder'd what the Dev'l he meant,  
At last I found, instead of Answer  
Mere dull Scurrility and Banter;  
Which shew'd no Honor could restrain  
The scoundrel Freedom of his Pen;  
And that, according to his use,  
He cannot write without Abuse;  
Or sure he would have preferr'd  
His Lousy Tinker<sup>30</sup> to my Lord.<sup>31</sup>



The fact is, however, that Defoe is quite civil, arguing against Haversham's major points, while Haversham, who brought the controversy on himself by publishing the speech, was enraged by Defoe's answer and, in a reply entitled The Lord Haversham's Vindication of his Speech in Parliament, November 15, 1705, resorted to exactly the "dull scurrility and banter" of which Ward accuses Defoe.

The political concerns, which are the primary concerns of Hudibras Redivivus, seem, at first glance, to be out of balance with the other subject matter in the poem. However, when one considers the temper of the period in which Ward lived, particularly the period from 1702 to 1714, it becomes apparent that the overwhelming concern of the times was politics, and particularly party politics. Party considerations became of such importance that Whigs and Tories often refused to meet socially: "The Earl of Sunderland, engaged to dine with his Junto friend Lord Halifax, . . . declined to cross the threshold when he found the coach of the Tory Lord Treasurer, Oxford, standing at the door."<sup>32</sup> Special and exclusive clubs were formed which drew their memberships entirely from one party or the other. The most famous, and one which appeared in Ward's Satyrical Reflections On Clubs, was the aristocratic Whig Kit-Kat Club. The Tories, however, had its equivalent in the Society of Brothers and the less exclusive Board of Brothers. The coffee-houses, which were the center of social life for the majority of upper- and middle-class Londoners, were also partisan and relied on either Tories or Whigs for their business.<sup>33</sup> The Tory establishments were Oaina's, the Smyrna, and the





Cocoa Tree. The Whigs frequented the St. James's Coffee-House, Button's Coffee-House, and Pontack's. The party division even extended into the Church of England: "There were times when it made a bear garden of the Convocation of Canterbury, where the rancorous disputes between bishops, marshalled by Tenison, and the Lower House, led by the fiery Atterbury, were more productive of violent antipathies than of constructive religious work."<sup>34</sup> Party animosities were so strong and so disconcerting that on July 11, 1705, in a letter to Godolphin, Anne wrote:

I wish very much that there may be a moderate Tory found for this employment [the Great Seal]. I must own to you I dread the falling into the hands of either party, and the Whigs have had so many favors showed them of late that I fear a very few more will put me insensibly into their power, which is what I am sure you would not have happen to me no more than I. . . . I do put an entire confidence in you, not doubting but you will do all you can to keep me out of the power of the merciless men of both parties.<sup>35</sup>

Mirroring the Queen's fears, Swift, in his Journal to Stella, wrote:

"The ministry is upon a very narrow bottom and stands like an Isthmus between the Whigs on one hand, and violent Tories on the other. They are able seamen, but the tempest is too great, the ship too rotten and the crew all against them."<sup>36</sup>

Ward, as earlier noted, was a violent Tory, and it is interesting to note that he remained a Tory from the beginning of his career as a writer until his death in 1731, which was unusual in a period where the great majority of writers changed parties with paychecks.



The implications of Ward's Toryism were that he was a strong Churchman, was uneasy about the doctrine of Parliamentary supremacy, harboured a dislike for William III's and Queen Anne's continental wars, and exhibited only a de facto acceptance of William as King and, at the very least, felt that the sanctity of the monarchy had been soiled. The Tory position was so entwined with the High-Church position that the Tories became known as "the Church Party," "the Church of England Party," and "the High-Church Party." A great deal of Hudibras Redivivus is concerned with religious questions and controversy, and often the political and religious are indistinguishable. In the third number of his poem, Ward, in the person of a High-Church divine, gives a definition of a Low-Church position. Included in the catalogue of Low-Church attributes is party affiliation.

In short, these Men of Moderation;  
 These Low-Church Whigs, so much in Fashion,  
 Are true to nothing, in my Sense,  
 Except to dull Indifference;  
 But like a lump of Wax or Clay,  
 Can take Impression any Way.<sup>37</sup>

The description, which follows, of the men of the High-Church party is given with Ward's usual prejudices showing:

The Church above the World they honour,  
 And fix their Happiness upon her;  
 The Artick and Ant'artick Poles  
 Are not more steddly than their Souls;  
 Int'rest nor Fear will make 'em waver,  
 Or from the Truth their Conscience sever.  
 No base Rewards, tho' ne'er so great,  
 Or Threats of a corrupted State,  
 Will make their Lips their Faith deny,  
 Or their Tongues give their Hearts the Lie.<sup>38</sup>



The sudden rise in the amount of political literature and its unusually outspoken quality, which Ward's works typify, were due to a number of influences. One of the most important of these was the fact that the political parties recognized the important part that pamphlets had played in the period of the Civil War, and in the period after William III came to the throne both the Whigs and the Tories began to encourage political writing. So marked was party support that political groups, rather than the court, became the center of patronage, and at one time or other almost every eighteenth-century writer was involved in political journalism. The relationship between Defoe and Harley is only one example of the extent to which politicians and writers co-operated: "Defoe became Harley's Man Friday, and remained so for long years to come, through many changes of men and measures."<sup>39</sup>

Another major factor in the rise of political literature was the fact that for the first time there was a large interested reading public. "An increasingly wealthy merchant class, mostly Dissenters centered in London, had acquired the leisure to read. Since the Dissenters were excluded from the regular schools they set up fine schools of their own which, together with the new Charity Schools, bred a new race of . . . readers."<sup>40</sup> By 1709 there were eighteen privately sponsored newspapers in London; of these:

A majority were politically committed. . . . The Post Boy, throughout the reign of Queen Anne as a whole, was probably the most widely read of the Tory prints. With an average sale of some 3000



to 4000 copies per issue between 1704 and 1712, and with many other copies (in accordance with contemporary practice) regularly given away, it would not be surprising if many numbers of The Post Boy passed through the hands of upwards of 50,000 readers.<sup>41</sup>

Ward, despite his neglect by later ages, was an important literary force between 1700 and 1712, for, "judged either by the number of titles or by the accumulated pages of his writings, no writer in England during that decade - with the exception of Defoe - outpublished him."<sup>42</sup> Hudibras Redivivus went through four editions between 1705 and 1710, while The London Spy went through five editions between 1698 and 1718.

Ward, in Volume One, Part Two of Hudibras Redivivus, gives an interesting picture of a coffee-house clash between Whigs and Tories and shows the importance to them of the various political journals.

Ward states:

I scarce had fill'd a Pipe of Sot-Weed,  
And by the Candle made it Hot-weed,  
But one of the Dissenting Crew  
Began aloud with the Review,  
And read it with a Grace becoming  
A Low-Church Teacher, when he's drumming  
Upon his Cusheon to his Humming,  
To cuff his blundering Oration  
Into the Ears of's Congregation:

. . . . .

No sooner was this Libel read,  
And gently down before 'em laid,  
To shew how courteous and respective  
They were to a Low-Church Invective,  
But a High-Church-man, in Derision,  
Faces them, and in Opposition  
To Foe's Aspersions, that were spurious,  
Reads out Politicus Mercurius.<sup>43</sup>





The confrontation is finally resolved when a "Member of the High-Church Body":

At Loyal News being very ready,  
 Ran o'er the Merc'ry so compleatly  
 Reading it so emphatically neatly,  
 That all the Saints within the Hearing,  
 Seem'd as much vex'd and discontented,  
 As if the church had circumvented  
 Those pious Frauds we daily see  
 Manag'd thro' that Hypocrisy  
 Occasional Conformity.  
 At Last with Malice in their Faces  
 They frowning started from their Places,  
 All moving Brother next to Brother,  
 Like Wild Geese, after one another.  
 Thus do they fly where e're they find  
 Bright Truth with solid Reason joined.<sup>44</sup>

Ward's satire, particularly as experienced in Hudibras Redivivus, is something of an anachronism when looked at in relation to major trends in Augustan and eighteenth-century satire. Ward, who "possessed only an 'irregular education,'"<sup>45</sup> was not engaged in writing in imitation of Horace, Juvenal, Persius, or Martial. He relied on his own wit and his familiarity with earlier English literature. The satiric method he was most familiar with was undoubtedly that of invective without the concern for subtlety, ease, and perfect diction that characterize the satires by poets who were classically orientated. Ward's satire is directly related to that of Skelton, Dunbar, Thomas Nashe, and other "Primitive" English satirists. The flyting techniques of these poets and the extended invectives of Ward have a great deal in common. Ward, however, lacked the wit to raise his satire above the level of common Grubstreet name calling. When many of the



"Primitive" satirists used invective and denunciation they elevated it by the use of interesting metaphor, involved conceits, inspired puns or, as in Skelton, grotesque harmony. There is always, in the best of their works, an essential distance between the satirist and his object of ridicule, a delight in the act of creating satire as much as a moral or situational necessity to expose vice or folly. James Sutherland, in English Satire, characterizes Nashe's satiric attitude as:

That of the Irishman who asked, "Is this a private fight, or can anyone join in?" . . . the very virtuosity of Nashe should serve to remind us again that one constant element in satire (however much the satirist may play it down or try to conceal it) is the pleasure he derives from his technical skill - from pulling out the satirical stops in the organ and letting its snarling pipe vibrate with harmonious cacophonous invective.<sup>46</sup>

Sutherland's case is, perhaps, stated too strongly, but the fact remains that most great satire has about it, if not in fact then at least in feeling, a sense of the author's joy in his wit and creation as much as his involvement in the reasons for "the fight." Ward does not, in his political satire, convey this sense. The reader of Hudibras Redivivus feels that there is an overwhelming involvement in the issues on the part of the author and that the invective and denunciation are the sputtering of inarticulate rage, the reaction of an individual so frustrated by the situation he sees that he is only able to scream insults and obscenities at his foes. The cases where Ward is



satirizing a nonpolitical object make this conclusion plausible, for once removed from his Tory preoccupations Ward catches his breath, relaxes, and is capable of quite effective satire.



## CHAPTER II

### WARD'S DEBT TO SAMUEL BUTLER

The threat of Presbyterianism as a coherent political body had ended with the Restoration in 1660. "Presbyterians and Independents were no longer parties in any political sense; they were indeed ghosts which would be revitalized for political purposes during the next half century, but which were then recently dead and the quieter therefore."<sup>1</sup> Thus Butler's Hudibras,<sup>2</sup> Ward's model for Hudibras Redivivus, is not concerned with the exposure of a specific threat from a specific viable and functioning party,<sup>3</sup> but rather generally with the exposure of the irrationality and stupidity which leads to chaos and which happens to be represented, in this single instance, by the Presbyterians and Independents. Edward Ames Richards in his Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition states:

Granted that both parties in the Civil War pursued an illogical course, what was the special defect of the forces called Puritan? In the first place, they used violence in an attempt to enforce their opinions and, in the second place, there was an intellectual ignorance, as well as political, involved in this attempt. Once started, they went from violence to violence, from logic to logic more and more inept and unreal, until violence came to an end in comparative rest, and logic was replaced by a condition which in spite of its ineptitudes was socially more real. The restored regime was in its turn hypocritical, violent, immoral, inept, but as its claims to validity were not so sweeping,<sup>4</sup> neither were its overt political acts so violent.





Butler was attempting to expose "general evils," "to show that scholarship was often no more than futile pedantry, that religion was commonly a pretext for the acquisition of power or wealth, that romantic love was generally a cover for self-interest, and that military honour was the reward for barbarism." James Hannay states in Satire and Satirists: "I decline to concede Butler to the Royalists as their peculiar property. In his Remains he satirizes the vices of Charles the Second's time, the fashions and the wickednesses of that basest of all periods, just as severely as he does the bad aspects of the life of the opposite party."<sup>6</sup> This concern of Butler's for the "general evil" could be best expressed, as he obviously was aware, through the use of figures historically frozen (the Presbyterians) and unable to evade Ralpho's question, "Why didst thou chuse that cursed Sin/ Hypocrisie, to set up in?"<sup>7</sup> These represent for Butler in "a world that he saw full of absurd, venal and dangerous parties . . . the most absurd and potentially the most dangerous."<sup>8</sup> Butler cannot be seen as partisan, for his reference point is not the Royalist point of view or even the English, but "his own mind and his own sense of the fitness of things."<sup>9</sup> It is this individualistic orientation which dictates Butler's retrospective approach to Hudibras, and it is just the opposite orientation which leads Edward Ward to a contemporary expression in his Hudibras Redivivus.

Where Butler had concerned himself with "Man" and shown himself to be a partisan of intelligence, a pragmatist and a rationalist "unlikely to forget the imperfections of sense, the difficulty of



right reason, the 'Subtlety of the Object,' the scarcely penetrable secrets of the physical universe,"<sup>10</sup> Ward's inclinations were both Anglican and Tory and are reflected as such in his writings. In every case in which Whigs, Low-Church Anglicans, Dissenters or the Occasional Conformity Act are discussed, his prejudice becomes obvious.<sup>11</sup> Thus Ward's writings reflect his party concerns and the purpose of his satire is to expose the Opposition to ridicule by any means necessary:

For he that writes in such an Age,  
When Parties do for Pow'r engage,  
Ought to chuse one Side for the Right  
And then, with all his Wit and Spite,  
Blacken and vex the Opposite . . .  
Scurrility's a useful Trick,  
Approv'd by the most Politic.  
Fling Dirt enough, and some will Stick.<sup>12</sup>

Although Hudibras Redivivus was written as satiric verse, Ward's editorial aims put him in the tradition of the political review, such as the Whig Review and Observer edited respectively by Defoe and Tutchin and the Tory Rehearsal and Mercurius Politicus edited respectively by Charles Lishe and James Drake, and lead away from the more universal concerns of Butler. Within the pages of Hudibras Redivivus, in a supposed Puritan prayer, Ward clearly identifies himself, not only with the High-Church cause, but also with the Tory journals:

We more particularly pray  
That thou would'st find some speedy Way  
To save us, hide us, and relieve us,  
From Hudibrassus Redivivus,



That Anti-Christian Popish Book,  
 That makes thy Saints like Devils look,  
 And wounds and persecutes the Righteous,  
 Much worse than laughing Heraclitus.

. . . . .

Let the Memorial and Rehearsal  
 Which we poor Lambs are bound to curse all,  
 Be doom'd to ignify our Pipes,  
 Or give our Backsides cleanly Wipes.

. . . . .

Next, lay thy scourging Hand good Lord  
 Upon that High-Church Scribe Ned Ward  
 May all his spiteful, Bitter Nuts,<sup>13</sup>  
 Be drown'd in the emptying of our Guts,  
 The stinking Fate of Doctor's Bills,  
 Confound his Kernels, and his Shells;  
 May all his pointed Prose and Rhime  
 Thrown at us Saints, from Time to Time,  
 Be punish'd one Day, as a Crime.<sup>14</sup>

Since his concerns were political, Ward's emphasis was on day-to-day problems. He was not able to form an over-all plan for his work but gave his opinion on controversy as it arose. As a result the quality of the whole suffers and the poem succeeds only in certain sections. Hudibras Redivivus is typical of the literature of the early eighteenth century, which led G.M. Trevelyan to remark:

The rich rewards of political literature were one of the causes why men of letters, though they still wrote verse as well as prose, were turning away even in their verse from poetry and imagination to the prosaic and journalistic spirit of the clear, rational Eighteenth Century. Milton, indeed, had written political pamphlets, but their best passages had retained the quality of great poetry rather than of skilled pamphleteering. This cannot be said of any writer in the age of Anne.<sup>15</sup>



Ward's use of Butler as a model for Hudibras Redivivus was no accident, for "among the Tory poets of Queen Anne's day no dead worthy was, of course, more universally admired or more widely imitated than Butler."<sup>16</sup> However, the use made of Butler was selective and usually consisted of an adaptation of his octosyllabic couplet, a colloquial debauching of his verbal eccentricities, and never-ending diatribe and invective in place of Butler's satiric wit. Since Hudibras Redivivus, like the works of most of Butler's imitators in the period, is topical and concerned with current events, it attempts to convey a realism to which the original Hudibras made no claims. For this reason the adaptation of the octosyllabic couplet becomes a problem, for "it was not adapted to the infinite detail and flexibility which the success of the realistic manner depends upon."<sup>17</sup> The result is often painful; witness the following description by Ward of the effects of coffee upon a drunk friend:

When the reviving Fumes that rose  
 From scalding Ninny-broth to's Nose  
 Had soberiz'd his Brains a little  
 And made him fit for Tattle Tittle.<sup>18</sup>

Ward immediately apologizes for this:

(Poets sometimes must change a letter,  
 Or word, to make their Rime the better;  
 For when Pegasus we bestride,  
 And after Wit a Hunting ride,  
 Our measur'd Lines would all run single,  
 Were they not coupl'd by their jingle.)<sup>19</sup>





But the difference between Butler's and Ward's uses of the octosyllabic form makes Ward's self-conscious poetizing banal and, despite the bright movement of many passages, disfigures the poem.

Butler is not involved merely in satirizing human foibles.

He is also engaged in literary satire. In this sense he is creating a

new form, in which several sources may be recognized but which was essentially original. His originality lies partly in the fact that he composed a satire that was simultaneously a criticism of contemporary public morality and outmoded ways of thinking and a parody of what, in common with Hobbes and Davenant, he regarded as an outmoded literary form.<sup>20</sup>

Butler saw his own age as mock-heroic and stated in his Notebooks:

if any man should but imitate what these Heroical Authors write in the Practice of his Life and Conversation, he would become the most Ridiculous Person in the world, but this Age is far enough from that, for though none ever abounded more with those Images (as they call them) of Moral and Heroical Virtues, there was never any so opposite to them all in the mode and custome of Life.<sup>21</sup>

Thus the ideals of epic and romance when seen in the light of Butler's practical and realistic concerns are absurd and, in the light of his vision of the times, make an excellent frame for his satire.

There are a number of possibilities that may have led Butler to the adaptation of the octosyllabic couplet in Hudibras. The most obvious is that the roughness of the verse form lent itself ideally to the irreverent use to which Butler put it. There is also, however, the possibility that it was adapted because of its use in the French



medieval romance: Butler's thorough dislike of romances was "partly due to the circumstance that they were romances and partly to the unfortunate fact that so many of them were French."<sup>22</sup> Butler's abhorrence of British use of French material is clearly shown in an entry in his Notebooks: "Our moderne Authors write Playes as they feed hogs in Westphalia, where but one eats pease, or akornes, and all the rest feed upon him and one anothers excrement. So the Spaniard first invents and Designs Plays,. the French borrow it from them and the English from the French."<sup>23</sup> The hard, sensible brevity of the octosyllabic couplet, coupled with Butler's prosaic diction and his "characteristic mode of satire . . . , that of describing everything in the most undignified manner possible,"<sup>24</sup> serves perfectly to create a complete burlesque. It is in this sense of total satire that Butler's Hudibras succeeds while Ward's Hudibras Redivivus regularly flounders and often fails.

In Hudibras Redivivus Ward is concerned with a partial satire. Where Butler was not interested in a rendering of reality, except by contrasting the rational, intelligent view of things with the lunatic world of Sir Hudibras and Ralpho, Ward is, in his satire, attempting to give both possibilities to the reader, the rational Tory position and the absurd Whig. When this attempt is made, the octosyllabic form becomes unwieldy and works against the author, and what in Butler is effective eccentricity becomes in Ward self-conscious colloquializing:



And so, said I, we sipped our Fuddle  
 As women in the straw do Caudle,  
 'Till ev'ry Man had drown'd his Noddle,  
 And when they found their heads grew light,  
 They thanked their Host, and bid good Night;  
 But the next Morn<sup>g</sup>, soon after rising,  
 I found my Punch-Bowl Ladle missing.<sup>25</sup>

Butler's satire often seems rough and of a personal nature, and "a very large number of the images in Hudibras are of the 'diminishing' sort characteristic of direct satire."<sup>26</sup> But, as earlier indicated, it was with intellectual qualities that Butler was concerned and it is perversions of the understanding which he subjects to ridicule. It is these perversions which he regards as the primary source of evil. "The laughter he desired to evoke was not the laughter of high spirits, nor that laughter closely allied to pity which smiles at the deep incongruities of human nature; it was a laughter of the intellect, which triumphs in the illumination of the truth by the exposure of folly."<sup>27</sup> In many cases what at first reading seems to be simply invective is a comic clue to a more serious statement. If one reads Hudibras with a copy of Butler's Notebooks close at hand and attempts to relate sections of Hudibras to statements in Notebooks, the relation between the "low burlesque" style of the poem and Butler's more serious concerns becomes clear. "A great observer, . . . Butler kept a commonplace book in which to enter his comments on life and society, and those ingenious similes in which his ideas crystallized. Not a few passages of Hudibras were probably constructed by moving side by side fragments that had originally existed apart from one



another."<sup>28</sup>

One of the most important differences between Butler and Ward, and possibly the one which relegates Ward to an obscure position in a footnote while Butler is the subject of intense scholarly study, is the lack of depth in Hudibras Redivivus and the intense intellectual quality of Hudibras. Ward, in his "Preface" to Hudibras Redivivus, apologizes to the reader for his bold use of Butler as a model. "Tho' I have made bold to borrow a Title from one of the best Poems that ever was publish'd in the English Tongue, yet I would not have the World expect me such a Wizard, as to be able to conjure up the Spirit of the inimitable Butler."<sup>29</sup> He also assures the reader, in the "Preface" to The Fourth Volume of The Writings, that,

Publick Miscarriages I think very justly deserve  
Publick Chastisement; Nor is there any better way  
to bring Great Men to a due sense of their open  
Errors, than by scourging of 'em into it, after  
such a manner as may be suitable to their quality,  
for tho' many are beneath Satyr, yet no man but a  
King, whose Character is sacred, ought to think  
himself above it.<sup>30</sup>

Despite these statements of good intentions, however, Ward seems, along with most of his contemporaries, more concerned with the sale of his material than with the effectiveness or the justness of the satire. Ward states in A Trip to Jamaica:

The condition of an Author, is much like that of a  
Strumpet, . . . and if the Reason be requir'd, Why  
we betake our selves to so Scandalous a Profession, . . .  
Fortune, hath forc'd us to do that for our Sub-  
sistance, which we are much asham'd of.<sup>31</sup>





Ward's somewhat safe and shallow satiric position is not enhanced by the fact that his use of innuendo or personal invective often serves no purpose but to satisfy either the demands of the less discerning members of his reading public for sensational material or his own desire to "fling dirt" at his opponents. He satisfies both of these requirements in a passage which is a satire of a Quaker Elder speaking:

Some Saints among you leer and look  
 As if you 'ad nibbl'd at the Hook;  
 But have a Care, if once you taste  
 The Baite, ye will be catch'd at last,  
 Like \_\_\_\_\_, that wicked Sinner,<sup>32</sup>  
 That fornicating old Cord-Wainer,  
 Who, to the Shame of our Profession,  
 She underneath, and he on top,  
 His Breeches down, her Fig-leaf up.  
 . . . . .

Therefore, my Friends, abhor such Evils,  
 For publick Shame's the Spite of Devils.  
 But should the Flesh, by Dint of Claret,  
 At any time o'ercome the Spirit,  
 So that you can't forbear, be sure,  
 E'er you begin, you bolt the Door.<sup>33</sup>

The entire Quaker section, which consists of twenty-eight pages, maintains this "alehouse" quality and at no point does it become more than prosaic invective and diatribe. One of Ward's major problems, as Troyer indicates,<sup>34</sup> is that his tastes are low. His style is rough and typical of the alehouse. His satire on the Puritans as a group, as on the Quakers, is expressed in a style which is vitriolic and shows little moral or artistic merit:



What Prejudice and want of Sense,  
 Can Calvin's whining Saints compare  
 The hum-drum Non-sense that they hear;  
 The canting Lies, instead of Truth,  
 Yawn'd from a stubborn Block-head's Mouth  
 With the learn'd Doctrine of a Guide,  
 By Heav'n and Nature qualify'd;  
 Whose Words have that commanding Sense,  
 They make us feel their Eloquence,  
 And by their Influence, incline  
 Our sinful Souls to what's Divine?  
 Whilst those illit'rate, gaping Fools,  
 Who prate in Barns and Dancing-Schools,  
 Would make a Christian, by their Teaching,  
 Abhor their Praying, and their Preaching,  
 And think they study'd to advance  
 Rebellion, Pride, and Ignorance;  
 And that, instead of propagating  
 True Christian Practice by their Prating,  
 Their bawling Dunces only meant  
 To teach their Hearers to dissent  
 From all that's good and excellent.<sup>35</sup>

Butler's depth of meaning is shown to advantage by a constantly maintained satiric distance, for although he is concerned with maintenance of an editorial, or satirical position, he does not, except in rare instances, intrude himself upon the reader to give short instructive speeches.<sup>36</sup> In his attempt to maintain a position outside the work, and to allow his satire to progress within the framework of his fable, Butler uses Sidrophel and Wachum to satirize, through a change of character, four types he dislikes. Sidrophel, who enters the poem as a quack astrologer, changes character in Part II, Canto iii, to become a virtuoso, and makes his exit from the poem as a satire upon members of the Royal Society. Wachum, Sidrophel's assistant, who originally satirized John Booker, William Lilly's aid,<sup>37</sup> finishes the canto as a scribbling poet. Thus, without introducing new



characters, breaking the thread of the narrative, or resorting to intrusive comment, Butler is able to deal with a number of critical concerns. Even when the author does appear, it is less as a commentator or moral voice than as a scene setter, and he performs a function analogous to that of the chorus in Shakespeare's Henry V. However, Butler is setting an intellectual and situational, as well as physical, scene and functions within a satiric context; therefore his descriptions go much farther than those of the Chorus in the history play. Often, as in Part III, Canto iii, the author's introductory remarks give a detailed preview of the landscape which Hudibras and Ralpho will cover as the section progresses:

Who would believe, what strange Bug-bears  
Mankind creates it self, of Fears?  
That spring like Fern, that Insect-weed  
Equivocally, without seed;  
And have no possible Foundation,  
But merely in th' Imagination:  
And yet can do more Dreadful Feats,  
Than Hags with all their Imps and Teats:  
Make more bewitch and haunt themselves,  
Than all their Nurseries of Elves.<sup>38</sup>

And in the following satire, as one would expect, Sir Hudibras is dismayed "To keep the Enemy, and fear,/ From equal falling on his Rere."<sup>39</sup>

Where Butler maintains a distinct distance between himself and his narrative, Ward's work is distinguished by its personal quality. As in his earlier work, The London Spy, the first number of which appeared in November of 1698, Ward assumes the guise of a reporter traveling about London and commenting upon men and events. The nature



of the narrative is conversational and extremely personal:

Upright I sate a while in Bed,  
 First scratch'd my elbows, then my Head,  
 A Trick we learn when Boys, and then  
 Retain the Habit 'till we're Men.  
 As Stories by our Nurses told,  
 Will still infect us when we're Old:  
 Besides, in such warm Times as these,  
 When Malice bites much worse than Fleas,  
 And Envy strikes at Human ease,  
 A man may find true cause of Scratching,  
 Without the common Reason, Itching.<sup>40</sup>

The section which contains Ward's "scratching" is typical of Hudibras Redivivus and is part of a whole number, Volume One, Part Eight, and half of another, Volume One, Part Nine, which consist of Ward's musings while lying in bed before rising, and his thoughts while performing his toilet. The informal first-person narrative of Hudibras Redivivus is undoubtedly one of the major areas from which it gathers such strength as it has. Ward stumbles when trying to imitate Butler's long dialectics. Every time he enters on a long and discursive argument, in imitation of Butler, he becomes repetitious and particularly dull. He is much more successful, however, when describing, on a personal and earthy level, London as he experienced it:

Now gently crusing up and down,  
 T' observe the Follies of the Town;  
 Wand'ring about like starving Bully,  
 Or stroling Punk in Search of Cully,  
 Just bolted from some Bawdy-House Alley;  
 I glanc'd an Eye at ev'ry Body,  
 This jutting Minx, that strutting Noddy;  
 One hugging Home a Bag of Pelf,  
 Another handing half himself:





Some striding on in sweating haste,  
 As if they fear'd their Time was past:  
 Some plagu'd with Corns, and some with Gout,  
 In shoes with Pen-knife pink'd and cut,  
 Who pick'd with Care the smoothest Places,  
 And at sharp Flint-Stones made wry Faces:  
 Others, tho' lusty, young, and strong,  
 Mov'd on so carelessly along,  
 That their delib'rate Pace might shew  
 They had but little else to do.  
 Young drunkards reeling, Bayliffs dogging,  
 Old strumpets plying, Mumpers proggings [Beggars begging],  
 Fat Dray-men squabbling, Chair-men ambling,  
 Oyster-Whores fighting, School-Boys scrambling,  
 Street Porters running, Rascals battl'ing,  
 Pick-pockets crowding, Coaches rattling,  
 News bawling, Ballad-wenches singing,  
 Guns roaring, and the Church-Bells ringing.<sup>41</sup>

Hudibras Redivivus changes emphasis a number of times, as Ward's political concerns or fears of reprisal are stirred. In all sections, however, observations such as the street description just cited appear, and when they do Ward's writing attains an interest that it never generates while he is concerned only with politics. The detail is usually realistic and convincing, the passages move well, and the use of language, quite the opposite of that in his political haranguing, is vigorous. These sections must have held the attention of his readers.

Without a doubt, Ward's greatest weakness is his political satire. Ward is a partisan in the full sense of the word. His indignation is Tory indignation. The disproportion he sees is Whig disproportion. The degeneration he exposes is not the degeneration of man in general, at which Butler strikes, but that of Dissenters and Whigs. Despite Troyer's apology for Ward's defence of A Memorial to the Church



of England in Hudibras Redivivus, Ward's recognition of the pamphlet's "ill-natured and vituperative qualities" did not deter him from expressing some approval of Drake's work. Ward's defence of Drake is typical of Grubstreet political partisanship and of Ward. The author sees everything with party blinkers on and is unable, even though his better judgement suggests it, to disagree violently with a member of his own party, or agree with a member of the opposition. There is no grey in Ward's political palette. Ward's satire in the sections concerned with political questions always degenerates into an argument ad hominem. He is after "the Calves Head men," "creatures of Titus Oates," "Popish Jimcracks," and "Dolts," but he seldom satirizes their motivations or principles. His satire is not a distortion of the truth in order to expose the intrinsic folly or malice which the truth reveals, but rather he satirizes the opposition in a manner which most High-Church Tories would accept, but in a manner that is essentially irrelevant to man in general. Not only is the satire irrelevant, but it is carried on in a Grubstreet jargon typical of all the partisan pamphlets of its kind and period. His political feelings have congealed into a mechanical cant which he winds up on appropriate occasions and which always plays the same tune in the same key.

A true satirist's only obligation is to his art. If his vision of society becomes compartmentalized, and the individual and collective villainy becomes characteristic not of "Man" but of arbitrarily created groups of men, separated from the satirist by generalizations and hazy political positions, his work will degenerate on the one hand into



flattery and on the other into simple invective. Any attempt to control the satiric urge and force it to function in terms of a level and prearranged route will ultimately lead to dull characterizations, trite mimicry, foolish irrelevant joking and a growing moral myopia. Ward's political satire is not always dull and empty, but the political sections of Hudibras Redivivus have far less to offer in their favor than do the more general sections. Ward's partisan statements are essentially propagandistic and only secondarily artistic. For this reason he is rightfully one of Pope's dunces. Even during Anne's reign the significant level of propaganda in Ward's work limited the value of the political sections, but with the passing of time and political distance from them, the partisan sections ring hollow and lead Ward to the obscurity of occasional mention in footnotes.

If one removes the "object of satire" in the greatest satires from the ken of the reader, if the Modest Proposal is presented without a knowledge of the Anglo-Irish problem, which was Swift's concern in writing the piece, if reference to Cibber and Theobald is removed from the footnotes in The Dunciad, or if Shaftsbury ceases to be recognized in Dryden's Absolom and Achitophel, there will be little or no damage done to the total effect of these satires. The authors' positions are stated in unique and imaginative ways, and it is these qualities that are of value. Further, if one looks beyond the "objects" it becomes clear that they are not the subject of the satire because they are wicked or foolish "individuals" but because they exhibit general qualities or represent systems of values which the satirist feels must



be destroyed. In the case of great satire there will always be a sense of purpose beyond the "object." It is the lack of this concern and of imaginative ability that typifies Ward's political satire and separates the petulant name-calling in Hudibras Redivivus from the satiric genius of its model and the satire of Swift, Pope, Gay and the other great satirists of the Augustan Age and the eighteenth century.





### CHAPTER III

#### WARD'S LONDON SPY

Edward Ward's value as a writer, fortunately, does not depend entirely upon his ability as a political and religious verse satirist. Political satire was a later development in his career and is overshadowed by his great talent for portraying places and events in an informal and realistic manner. Ward's earliest success was A Trip to Jamaica, which first appeared in 1698.<sup>1</sup> It was essentially a travel pamphlet, but with the difference that instead of a scientific description of flora and fauna, such as appeared in most travel literature of the period, Ward writes about the commonplace. He records his impressions of the food, the accommodations, and the people, and all in a rough informal prose. Of the food available in Jamaica Ward writes:

They greatly abound in a Beautiful Fruit, call'd a Cussue, not unlike an Apple, but longer; its soft and very Juicy, but so great an Acid, and of a Nature so Restricting, that by eating of one, it drew my mouth like a Hen's Fundament, and made my Palate as rough, and Tongue as Sore, as if I had been Gargling it with Allom-Watter: From whence I conjecture, they are a much fitter Fruit to recover Lost Maiden-heads, properly apply'd than to be Eaten.<sup>2</sup>

The Trip to Jamaica was an immediate success and eventually went



through eight editions. The major importance of the work, however, was that it established a form in which Ward wrote effectively, and one in which he would cast his two most important works, Hudibras Redivivus and The London Spy.

In 1698 Ward issued the first number of his best-known and most lasting work, The London Spy, in which he assumes the guise of a country visitor to London being shown the sights of the big city by an old school chum. Ward's use of the London-based friend allows him much more satiric room than he would have had if only the country visitor's reactions to the city were available to him. He is, with the use of two characters, able to turn his satire out, against the ways of the "metropolis," or in against the narrator. It also gives him a ready explanation for knowledge he possesses which would be out of place with his "country-friend" pose. Essentially the work is a travel record, as was the Trip to Jamaica, but the travel is restricted for the most part to the city of London and described from a point of view and in a style which induced Londoners to read it. Ward's greatest asset was his sense of humour and ability to see the levity of almost any situation. His descriptions of events and places usually emphasize the ludicrous and the droll, presenting the reader, through his use of colloquial and racy language, with a vibrant and fascinating picture of the city. Ward's assumed persona distances him from his subject matter and enables him to comment, from an effective satiric position, on such subjects as coffee-house society and the conditions at Bedlam and Bridewell and to make his comments from a



seemingly unprejudiced point of view. The Londoner reading The London Spy moves through the city with Ward and sees his everyday world with new eyes. Usually the character Ward assumed sees the amusing aspects of the city, commenting on the foolishness and minor vices of its citizens, and it is at these moments that Ward is most successful, but Ward also uses his assumed country honesty to expose evils which the more blasé London inhabitants take for granted, and visits places that the average Londoner would not dream of frequenting. While at Bridewell Ward is confronted with an emaciated inmate. He feels pity for the individual and inquires of him how he came to be in his present sad circumstance:

He told me he had been Sick six Weeks under that Miserable Confinement, and had nothing to Comfort him but Bread and Water, with now and then the Refreshment of a little Small-Beer. I ask'd him further, what Offence he had committed that brought him under his Unhappiness? To which he answer'd, he had been a great while discharg'd of all that Charg'd against him, and was detain'd only for his Fees; which for want of Friends, being a Stranger in the Town, he was totally unable to raise. I asked him what his Fees amounted to? He told me five Groats. Bless me! Thought I, what Rigorous Uncharitable thing is this, that so Noble a Gift, intended, when first given, to so good an End, should now be so corrupted by such Unchristian Confinement as to Starve a Poor Wretch, because he wants Money to satisfie the demands of a Mercenary Cerberus, when discharg'd of the Prison by the Court! Such Severe, nay Barbarous Usage, is a Shame to our Laws, an Unhappiness to our Nation, and a Scandal to Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

(Hayward, 107)

The moralizing quality of this passage is not Ward's usual attitude.



He most often presents a lightly drawn satiric portrait which strikes at targets the average Londoner would be familiar with and would enjoy seeing ridiculed. In his stroll through the Royal Exchange Ward describes various groups of foreign traders, among them a group of Dutchmen:

After we had squeezed ourselves through a crowd of Italians, we fell into a throng of strait-laced monsters in fur, and thrum-caps, with huge logger-heads, effeminate waists, and buttocks like a Flanders mare, with slovenly mien and swinish looks, whose upper lips were gracefully adorned with brown whiskers. These, with their gloves under their arms, and their hands in their pockets, were grunting to each other like hogs at their pease. My friend told me these were the Dutchmen, the water rats of Europe, who love nobody but themselves, and fatten upon the spoils, and build their own welfare upon the ruin of their neighbours.<sup>4</sup>

(Hayward, 56-57)

He also burlesques the Spanish, French, and Jewish merchants, and all with the interest and apparent "plain-dealing" honesty of his assumed neutral position.

Ward's methods in The London Spy, however, are not merely an interesting diversion. His meticulous descriptions of "the other side" of London life give the modern reader a view of the city in a detail not otherwise available. In his Life of Johnson, Boswell relates that: "It is well known that there was formerly a rude custom for those who were sailing upon the Thames, to accost each other as they passed, in the most abusive language they could invent, generally, however, with as much satirical humour as they were capable of





producing."<sup>5</sup> He then gives Johnson's retort to "a fellow [who] attacked him with coarse raillery": "Sir, your wife, under pretence of keeping a bawdy-house, is a receiver of stolen goods."<sup>6</sup> However, to gain a real sense of the conditions on the Thames one must read Ward. In The London Spy he gives a sample of the kind of exchange one could expect between boats:

"You couple of treacherous sons of Bridewell. How dare you show your ugly faces upon the River of Thames, and to fright the Queen's swans from holding their heads above water?" To which our well-fed pilot, after he had cleared his voice most manfully replied, "You lousy starved crew of worm-pickers and snail-catchers. You offspring of a pumpkin, who can't afford butter to your cabbage, or bacon to your sprouts. Hold your tongue, you radish-mongers, or I'll whet my needle and sew your lips together."<sup>7</sup>

(Hayward, 118)

Although the description of the verbal war in The London Spy is good, Ward far outstrips it in A Frolick to Horn-Fair, written on the design of The London Spy and first offered to the public in 1699. Ward, in The Frolick, creates a scene of hilarious chaos and, in greater detail than that of The London Spy, describes another excursion on the Thames. The activities go beyond name calling and extend to dousing with water and the tossing of floating excrement:

At last an unlucky rogue, with Bridewell-looks and a ladle in his hand, fishes up a floating Sir-reverence in his wooden vehicle, and gives it an unfortunate toss upon my lady's bubbies. She crying out to me her protector, to do the office of a scavenger, and take away the beastliness, she being herself so very squeamish, that she could no



more endure to touch it with her fingers, than a monkey does a mouse, it being lodged in the cavity, between her breasts and her stays, she could not shake it off, but I was forced to lend a hand to remove the poisonous pellet from her snowy temptations, giving on't a toss into another boat. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Ward's aim is excellent, and his "wounding of an old cuckoldy waterman just in the forehead" initiates an abusive tirade of much greater ferocity than any reported in The London Spy:

You shitten-skulled son of a turd, that has spat your brains in my face, who was begotten in buggery, born in a house of office, and delivered at the fundament, fit for nothing but to be cast into a goldfinder's ditch, there lie till you're rotten, and then to be sold out to gardeners, for a hot bed, to raise pumpkins to feed the Devil withall. And as for you, you brandy-faced, bottle-nosed, bawdy, may he beget your belly full of live crabs and crawfish, that as you strive to pluck 'em out, they may hang by the sides of your toquoque, and make you squeak nine times louder than a woman frightened into labour a month before her reckoning.

Ward's description, with all its grossness and bad taste, gives the reader a much more vibrant and lively picture of the plight of a traveler on the Thames, and leads to a much clearer understanding of the probable background of Johnson's Thames retort than Boswell does with his careful prose.

In many ways, despite the clear representations of contemporary scenes, much of the excellence of Ward's description is lost in the haze of time stretching between the date of their composition and their study by a modern reader. This, however, need not be so. In William Hogarth's works can be seen graphic representation of many of



the places and situations which Ward describes in prose. "Some of Hogarth's works, particularly his early ones, undeniably reflect the outlook of the popular journalist Ned Ward, who belonged to an earlier generation but who was still active during the first ten years of Hogarth's career."<sup>10</sup> Hogarth chose his subjects from the same areas of experience as Ward:<sup>11</sup>

He [Hogarth] was fascinated by every kind of human situation, by the diversity of men's character and expression, masked and particularly unmasked, by the varied settings in which his figures moved. Born and bred in London, he had an intimate knowledge of this immense city, the largest in Europe, the center of trade, the seat of court and parliament and the London sites as the topographical background for his engravings. He was acquainted with its social, literary and theatrical events, its fashions, its vices, its chronique scandaleuse, its police reports and rough amusements. For vices and rough amusements there were in plenty, especially since the return of laxer moral standards under the Restoration.<sup>12</sup>

If one reads The London Spy with a book of William Hogarth's works at hand it is a simple matter to capture Ward's London perfectly.<sup>13</sup>

While Hudibras Redivivus functions, within its three major sections, with tonal regularity, Ward, much to his advantage, varies the tone of The London Spy from event to event and from issue to issue. The sections already quoted, the descriptions of Bridewell and the Dutch Merchants, are typical of this ability to change mood. In the following passage which concerns itself with Westminster Abbey Ward achieves a sense of awe and reverence which is almost a satire of itself:





When we came in sight of this sacred edifice, I could not behold the outside of the awful pile without reverence and amazement. It was raised to such a stupendous height, and beautified with such ornamental statues that the bold strokes of excelling artists, whilst the building stands, will always remain visible. The whole seemed to want nothing that could render it truly venerable. On the north side we entered the magnificent temple with equal wonder and satisfaction, which entertained our sights with such worthy monuments and astonishing antiquities that we knew not which way to direct our eyes, each object was so engaging. We took a general survey of all that's to be seen in the open parts of the church, where almost every stone gives a brief history of the memorable actions due to their pious ashes to whom the table appertaineth.<sup>14</sup>

(Hayward, 143)

In another view, this time of St. Paul's, Ward mixes the same sense of overstated awe with one of humour. After a pious description of the afternoon prayer at St. Paul's and a statement about the awesome size of the building, Ward nicely undercuts the "awful pile" which he has laboured so carefully to build:

As we were gazing with great satisfaction at the wondrous effects of human industry, raising our thoughts by degrees to the marvelous works of Omnipotence, from those of his creatures, we observed an old country fellow leaning upon his stick, and staring with great amazement up toward Heaven, through the circle from whence the arch is to be turned. Seeing him fixed in such a rumination posture, I was desirous of knowing his serious thoughts, and in order to discover them I asked him his opinion of this noble building, and how he liked the church?

"Church!" replied he, "tis no more like a church than I am Ads-heart! It's more by half like a goose-pie I have seen at my landlord's, and this embroidered hole in the middle of the top is like the place in the upper-crust where they put in the butter."<sup>15</sup>

(Hayward, 82)





Ward goes on to discredit the bumpkin as a Roundhead and a fool but not without knowingly altering the tone of the piece. It is no accident that the passage following this exchange begins: "We now begin to stifle our sober and more elevated thoughts and contemplation, and form ourselves a suitable temper to a different undertaking. . . ." <sup>16</sup> (Hayward, 82) This, combined with the earlier dialogue, provides a smooth transition to the consideration of matter less serious than the cathedral.

As well as the serious descriptions of place, Ward engages, as illustrated by the Bridewell passage, in occasional attempts at concerned criticism of a social nature. His concern is unique in the period, for, although literary reform was attempted by a number of contemporary periodicals and reform of manners encouraged by Addison, Steele, and Dunton, no other real attempt to expose prison conditions and the plight of the poor appears at the time of The London Spy. Ward's "muck-raking" tendencies are unique to him and add a profoundly serious dimension to his work. In the second number of The London Spy he discusses the bands of "City-waits" who, homeless and desitute, roam the streets begging and stealing:

"They are poor wretches," says my friend, "that are dropped here by gypsies and country beggars, when they are so little they can give no account of parents or place of nativity, and the parishes not caring to bring a charge upon themselves, suffer them to beg about in the daytime and at night sleep at doors, and in holes and corners about the streets till they are so hardened in this sort of misery that they seek no other life till their riper years (for want of being bred to labour) puts them upon all sorts of villainy.



Thus, through the neglect of churchwardens, and constables, from beggary they proceed to theft and from theft to the gallows.<sup>17</sup>

(Hayward, 31)

In the fourth number of The London Spy Ward attacks another contemporary problem, that of the tallyman or vender of goods on the installment plan. Arrested for "tippling" at an unreasonable hour, Ward and his companions are taken to the Poultry Compter, one of the Sheriff's prisons, and while there interview a lady who has been "imprisoned at the suit of a tallyman in Houndsditch, for things to the value of four pounds, and that he offered to kiss it out, but she would not let him, for which reason he arrested her, and had run her up to an execution"<sup>18</sup> (Hayward, 68). This leads Ward to comment on the practice of selling on credit and "the hungry demands of . . . unconscionable usurers":

For people that are too poor to pay such unreasonable extortion as cent per cent, it's a scandal to the laws and a shame to Christianity that such indigent wretches should be so heavily oppressed, contrary to all charity and justice, to satisfy the unreasonable interest, or else the unmerciful revenge of such unconscionable misers.<sup>19</sup>

(Hayward, 69)

Finally, in number six of The London Spy, Ward comments on the practice of flogging women publicly:

"Why, truly," said I, "if I must deliver my opinion according to my real sentiments, I only conceive it makes many harlots but that it can in no measure reclaim 'em. I think it is a shameful indecency for



a woman to expose her naked body to the sight of men and boys, as if it were designed rather to feast the eyes of the spectators than to correct vice, or reform manners, therefore I think it both more modest and more reasonable they should receive their punishment in the view of women only, and by the hand of their own sex. Moreover as their bodies by nature are more tender, and their constitutions more weak, we ought to show them more mercy, and not punish 'em with such dog-like usage, unless their crimes were capital."<sup>20</sup>

(Hayward, 110)

Undoubtedly Ward's descriptions of situations such as these introduced the average Londoner to a side of his city which was, in detail at least, unfamiliar to him. The opinions voiced in Ward's eye-witness descriptions were much more likely to affect the reader than a simple injunction to consider the problem abstractly. It is doubtful whether Ward had any real effect as a social reformer; however, as a writer both his attempt at reform and his unusual approach enhance the value of The London Spy as an illustration of eighteenth-century London and as a pattern for later works. It is of interest to note that Henry Fielding in his Proposal for Making an Effectual Provision for the Poor, echoes Ward's sentiments:

If we were to make a progress through the outskirts of this town, and look into the habitations of the poor, we should there behold such a picture of human misery as must move the compassion of every heart that deserves the name of human. What, indeed, must be his composition who deserves the name of human, what indeed, must be his composition who could see whole families in want of every necessary of life, oppressed with hunger, cold, nakedness, and filth, and with diseases, the certain consequence of all these: what, I say, must be his composition, who could look into such a scene as this, and be affected only in his nostrils?



That such wretchedness as this is so little lamented, arises therefore from its being so little known, but if this be the case with the sufferings of the poor, it is not so with their misdeeds. They starve, and freeze, and rot among themselves; but they beg and steal, and rob among their betters.<sup>21</sup>

In the sections where Ward is concerned with serious social problems he seldom uses satire as a weapon but, rather, as does Fielding, presents a complete and serious description of the situation to be corrected. His satire is reserved for less weighty subjects. In the first number of The London Spy Ward describes his introduction to coffee-house society and paints a satiric portrait of current London manners:

Then, with a hop, stride and jump, he [Ward's friend and guide through London] ascended the stairhead before us, and from thence conducted us to a spacious room where about a dozen of my school-fellow's acquaintance were ready to receive us. Upon our entrance they all started up, and screwed themselves into so many antic postures that had I not seen them first erect, I should have qu<sup>e</sup>ried myself whether I was fallen into the company of men or monkeys.

This fit of wriggling was almost over before I rightly understood the meaning on't, and found at last that they were only showing one another how many sorts of ape's gestures and fop's cringes had been invented since the French dancing masters undertook to teach English gentry to make scaramouches of themselves, and how to entertain their poor friends and pacify their creditors with compliments and congees.<sup>22</sup>

(Hayward, 3)

In much the same vein Ward describes the character of a beau:







He is a Narcissus that is fallen in love with himself and his own shadow. Within doors he's a great friend to a great glass; without doors he adores the sun like a Persian, and walks always in his rays. His body's but a poor stuffing of a rich case, like bran to a lady's pin-cushion, that when the outside is stripped off, there remains nothing that's valuable. His head is a fool's egg which lies hid in a nest of hair. His brains are the yolk, which conceit has addled.<sup>23</sup>

The "Primitive" quality of Ward's work, and his lack of formal education usually place his works outside of any recognizable "literary tradition." There is, however, one major exception to this rule. Ward makes regular use of "character sketches" which date, in England, from the publication of Causaubon's Latin edition of Theophrastus in 1592.<sup>24</sup> Joseph Hall was the first, with his Characters of Virtues and Vices (1608), to create an English "Character Book." Typical of his work is this opening section from "The Malcontent":

He is neither well full nor fasting; and tho he abound with complaints, yet nothing dislikes him but the present: for what hee condemned while it was, once past hee magnifies, and strives to recall it out of the jawes of Time. What hee hath hee seeth not, his eyes are so taken up with what he wants; and what hee sees hee cares not for, because hee cares so much for that which is not.<sup>25</sup>

Hall's book, however, was not particularly popular, and it was Sir Thomas Overbury who made the "character sketch" fashionable with the publication of his Characters or Witty Descriptions of the Properties of Sundry Persons (1614). The popularity of Overbury's work is possibly a result of the circumstances of his death as much as the merit of his writing;<sup>26</sup> but whatever the reason for his popularity his



Characters went through eighteen editions by 1660 and the character sketches which had originally numbered twenty-two swelled to a total of eighty-three, with contributions by writers as well known as John Donne, Dekker, and Webster. Typical of Overbury's work, which concerns itself with types, rather than moral qualities as Hall's Virtues and Vices had done, is this satiric description of A Puritan:

Is a diseased piece of Apocrypha: bind him to the Bible, and he corrupts the whole text; ignorance, and fat feed are his founders; his nurses, railing, rabies, and round breeches; his life is but a borrowed blast of wind, for between two religions, as between two doors, he is ever whistling. Truly whose child he is, is yet unknown, for willingly his faith allows no father: only thus far his pedigree is found, Bragger, and he flourished about a time first; his fiery zeal keeps him continually costive, which withers him into his own translation, and till he eat a Schoolman, he is hidebound; he ever prays against nonresidents, but is himself the greatest discontinuer, for he never keeps near his text: anything that the law allows, but marriage, and March beer, he murmurs at; what it disallows and holds dangerous makes him a discipline. Where the gate stands open, he is ever seeking a stile; and where his learning ought to climb, he creeps through; give him advice, you run into traditions, and urge a modest course, he cries out councils.<sup>27</sup>

The last piece in Overbury's 1614 edition is a description of what a "character sketch" consists of, a recipe which served as a framework for the numbers of imitations to follow:<sup>28</sup>

If I must speak the schoolmaster's language, I will confess that character comes of this infinite mood XaPa'Ew, that signifieth to engrave, or make deep impression. And for that cause, a letter (as A, B) is called a character.

Those elements which we learn first, leaving a strong seal in our memories.



Character is also taken from an Egyptian hieroglyphic, for an impress, or short emblem; in little comprehending much.

To square out a character by our English level, it is a picture (real or personal) quaintly drawn, in various colors, all of them heightened by one shadowing.

It is a quick and soft touch of many strings, all shutting up in one musical close; it is wit's descant on any plain song.<sup>29</sup>

The best of the "Character Books" after Overbury, and perhaps the finest of English "character sketches," is John Earle's Micro-cosmographie (1628). Earle was a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and as might be expected drew most of his types from college life. As a result of his success with his "Character Book" he was called to Court and became chaplain to the Lord Chamberlain (the Earl of Pembroke), tutor to the Prince of Wales, and an advisor of Charles I.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps one of his best descriptions is that of A Pretender to Learning:

Is one that would make others more fooles than himselfe; for though he know nothing, he would not have the world know so much. He conceits nothing in Learning but the opinion, which he seekes to purchase without it, though hee might with lesse labour cure his ignorance, then hide it. He is indeed a kind of Scholler-Mountebank, and his Art, our delusion. He is trickt out in all the accoutrements of Learning, and at the first encounter none passes better. Hee is oftner in his study, then at his Booke, and you cannot pleasure him better, then to deprehend him. Yet he heares you not till the third knocke, and then comes out very angry, as interrupted. You find him in his Slippers, and a Pen in his eare, in which formality he was asleep.<sup>31</sup>

Closer to Ward, although not published until after his death, were the "Characters" of Samuel Butler which were written between 1667 and 1680 and first printed in 1759. It is interesting to note that in





his description of A Modern Politician Butler voices many sentiments which can be found in the pages of both Hudibras Redivivus and The London Spy:

He believes, there is no Way of thriving so easy and certain as to grow rich by defrauding the Public: for public Thieveries are more safe and less prosecuted than private, like Robberies committed between Sun and Sun, which the County pays, and no one is greatly concerned in. And the Monster of many Heads has less Wit in them all than any one reasonable Person: so the Monster of many Purses is easier cheated than any one indifferent crafty Fool. For all the Difficulty lies in being trusted; and when he has obtained that, the Business does itself; and if he should happen to be questioned and called to an Accompt, a Baudy Pardon is as cheap as a Paymaster's Fee, not above fourteen Pence in the Pound.<sup>32</sup>

Undoubtedly the Caractères of La Bruyère, which were translated into English in 1702 as The Characters, or Manners of the Age, and a 1698 translation of Theophrastus titled, The Moral Characters of Theophrastus; Made English from the Greek, with a Prefatory Discourse concerning Theophrastus, from the French of Mons. De La Bruyère had a great deal of influence on Ward; but even closer to Ward are the "Characters" of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, whose History of the Rebellion served as a source for the last section of Hudibras Redivivus. The character sketches in The Rebellion differ from earlier examples of the genre as they describe historical figures rather than "types." Perhaps even more important is the fact that they form part of a longer narrative and are not complete in themselves.<sup>33</sup> The following is from "The Character of John Hampden":





He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinions with him, but a desire of information and instruction, yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and under the notion of doubts insinuating objections, that he left his opinions with those, from whom he pretended to learn and receive them; and even with them, who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew.<sup>34</sup>

Ward's best use of the "character sketch" exhibits the qualities of Edward Hyde's. The characters are part of a place and circumstance, and thus escape the frozen nature of earlier attempts in the genre. Ward goes further and, maintaining the approach utilized to describe individuals, gives "character sketches" of places and events.<sup>35</sup> It is in the pages of The London Spy that he excels at "character sketching" devoting almost the entire fifteenth and sixteenth numbers to them. He prefaces the fifteenth issue with an explanation of the shift in emphasis from place and event to "character."

As a fair Town Miss, of a twelve months' standing, when she has become too common, puts on a dark fore-top, blacks her eyebrows, changes the mode of her dressing, her lodging, and her name, and sets up for a new creature; so we, for fear of falling under the same fate, have thought fit to vary a little from our former method, in hopes to preserve the same liking to our design which we believe the world has hitherto had, from the encouragement it has given us to continue our undertaking.

Our chief alteration will be to treat more of men and manners, opening the frauds and deceits practicable in many trades, characters of trades, and those that



follow 'em; and remarks upon all occurrences worth notice.<sup>36</sup>

(Hayward, 256)

In the sixteenth number of The London Spy Ward presents the "character" of an Irishman:

He is commonly a huge fellow, with a little soul, as strong as a horse, and as silly as an ass; very poor and very proud. Lusty and yet lazy; foolish yet knavish; impudent but yet cowardly; superstitiously devout yet infamously wicked; very loose in his morals; a loyal subject to his prince, and as humble servant to his master, for he thinks 'tis his duty to make a rogue of himself at any time to serve the one, and a fool of himself at any time to serve the other; that is, to back a plot, or make a bull, he is the fittest calf in Christendom. He has a natural propensity to be a bully, and at his first coming into England most certainly lists himself into a harlot's service and has so much a day out of her earnings to be her Guard du Corps, to protect her in her vices.<sup>37</sup>

(Hayward, 279)

Ward makes use of "character sketches" after The London Spy but never with the effectiveness of the earlier work.<sup>38</sup> They become part of descriptive catalogues and lose the life which Ward gave them in the Spy. The lists could never achieve the quality exhibited in the sketch of two bullies meeting at Ludgate Hill and caught in action by Ward's pen:

As we came down Ludgate Hill, a couple of town bullies met each other. "D[am]n ye, sir," says one, "why did you not meet me yesterday morning, according to appointment?" "D[am]n you, sir, for a coward," replied the other. "I was there and waited till I was wet to the skin, and you never came at me." "You lie, like



a villain," says t'other; "I was there, and stayed the time of a gentleman, and draw now, and give me satisfaction like a man of honour, or I'll cut your ears off." "You see," says the valiant adversary, "I have not my fighting sword on, and hope you are a man of more honour to take advantage of a gentleman." "Then go home and fetch it," says Don Furioso, "like a man of mettle, and meet me within an hour in the Queen's Bench Walk in the Temple, or the next as many eyelet hoses in your skin, as you have button-holes in your coat, and therefore have care how trespass upon my patience." "Upon the reputation of a gentleman, I will punctually meet you at your time and place," replied the other, and so they parted.<sup>39</sup>

(Hayward, 100-101)

Ward always singles out types that will be familiar to his London readers: a parson, petty officials, marriage brokers, a quack doctor, astrologers and bullies. Further, he varies the contents of each number. Thus, in number four, where appear the conditions at Bridewell, there also appears the satiric picture of the two bullies meeting, the harangue of a quack physician and a satiric description of an entertainment at Mob's Hole in Wanstead parish. This last is typical of a form of satire, that of the description of an entire event, at which Ward excels. Ward's description of the Lord Mayor's Show is another example of this ability to catch an entire event with an ease and intimacy that does not appear again until John Gay's Trivia. Ward splits his narrative between descriptions of the "pageants" and the antics of the crowd:

In every interval between pageant and pageant the mob had still a new project to put on foot. This time they had got a piece of cloth a yard or more square, which they dipped in the gutter,





till they had made it fit for their purpose,  
 then tossed it about. Expanding itself in the  
 air, and falling on the heads of two or three at  
 once, it made 'em look like so many bearers under  
 a pall, every one lugging a different way to get  
 it off his head, oftentimes falling together by  
 the ears about plucking off their cover-slut.<sup>40</sup>

(Hayward, 220-1)

Gay's Trivia, which appeared in 1715, displays, in its intimate descriptions of the streets of London, the same familiarity with an attentiveness to details that Ward exhibits throughout The London Spy. Even Gay's use of first-person narrative in the character of the traveller or "walker" is highly reminiscent of Ward's work. And Gay's attention to small, often ugly, detail cannot help but recall Ward:

When waggish boys the stunted besom ply,  
 To rid the shabby pavement, pass not by,  
 Ere thou hast held their hands; some heedless flirt  
 Will overspread thy calves with splattering dirt.  
 Where porters hogsheads roll from carts aslope,  
 Or brewers down steep cellars stretch the rope,  
 Where counted billets are by carmen tost,  
 Stay thy rash step, and walk without the post.  
 What though the gathering mire thy feet besmear?  
 The voice of industry is always near.  
 Hark! the boy calls thee to his destined stand,  
 And the shoe shines beneath his oily hand.  
 . . . . .

Where elevated o'er the gaping crowd,  
 Clapsed in the beard the perjured head is bowed,  
 Betimes retreat; here, thick as hailstones pour,  
 Turnips and half-hatched eggs (a mingled shower)  
 Among the rabble rain; some random throw  
 May with the trickling yolk thy cheek o'erflow.<sup>41</sup>

Much of the interest of both Trivia and The London Spy lies in the ability of their authors to convey a sense of intimacy and to





catch the small details that distinguish the places or events they are describing. The eighteenth-century citizen of London had available, in these works, a detailed and living portrait of his own city. Ward excels in this ability to make a scene immediate and alive and to catch unusual and intimate details which would appeal to the sensitivities of the average reader. His description of a company of Train-bands typifies this aspect of his work:

just as we came out of the north portico of the Abbey, a company of Train-bands was drawn up in the yard in order to give their captain a parting volley. I could not forbear laughing to see so many greasy cooks, tun-bellied lick-spiggots, and fat wheezing butchers, sweating in their buff doublets, under the command of some fiery-faced brewer, whose belly was hooped in with a golden sash, which the clod-skulled hero became as well as one of his dray-horses would an embroidered saddle.<sup>42</sup>

(Hayward, 144-5)

Part of Ward's ability to create vivid scenes lies in his use of sensual description. His use of sight has been amply illustrated, but he also calls liberally on the other senses. Typical is the following description:

We walked on till we came to the end of a little stinking lane, which my friend told me was Chick Lane, where measly pork and neck-beef stood out in wooden platters, adorned with carrots, and garnished with the leaves of marigolds; and where carriers and drover eat in public view, stuffing their insatiate appetities with greasy swine's flesh, till the fat drivelled down from the corners of their mouths.<sup>43</sup>

(Hayward, 94)



Although the smell of the lane is never described in detail, the author manages a portrait which cannot but excite the sense of smell and touch. This experiential insight into the darker corners of the city is the aspect of The London Spy which made it interesting to the contemporary reader of Ward's day and which makes it an invaluable document for the student of today. The reader was on his own home ground and by a short trip around London could see in person the places and events which Ward "characterizes" on the pages of The London Spy. The places, names, and events were all familiar. By describing too familiar scenes Ward made vivid and visible aspects of life which had been clouded by over-familiarity. This last was perhaps the most important reason for the popularity of the work. For the modern reader a knowledge of Ward's work can furnish an invaluable background for understanding the works of the more important writers of the Augustan Age. Places, people, and events that have been cold and distant can, with Ward's help, take on color and be seen from every angle.

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## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

Any final statement about Ward must be made with the knowledge that he is a minor literary figure. Unfortunately his successful moments are few and brief and he never achieves what could in any sense be termed greatness. This does not, however, disqualify Ward as a figure worthy of notice. Any study of the reign of Anne must, even if minimally, take him into consideration. He appears a number of times in Trevelyan's three-volume England Under Queen Anne, and again in W.B. Ewald's Rogues, Royalty, and Reporters; The Age of Queen Anne through its Newspapers. Frederick Antal, author of Hogarth and His Place in European Art, believes that Ward was a decided influence on Hogarth, even to the point of directly linking Ward's description of women beating hemp in the Sixth Number of The London Spy and "The Harlot's Progress IV, Detention in Bridewell."<sup>1</sup>

Irvin Ehrenpreis in Swift, the Man, His Works and the Age suggests that "Swift's burlesque [Partridge Papers] looks like, and is probably modelled upon, The Infallible Astrologer, a series of anti-Partridgean mock-almanacs by Tom Brown."<sup>2</sup> Ehrenpreis fails to connect Ward with The Infallible Astrologer, but Brown, in fact, collaborated on the work with Ward.<sup>3</sup> Ward himself was responsible for



the opening shot in the attack on the astrologer with The World Bewitch'd, A Dialogue Between Two Astrologers and the Author with Infallible Predictions of What Will Happen in the Present Year 1699. From the Vices and Villanies Practiced in Court, City and Country (Feb. 1699), which predated Brown's Infallible Astrologer by more than a year. Ward is also responsible for a passage in The Weekly Comedy, as it is Daily Acted at Most Coffee-Houses in London (1699), which has been cited by Frederick S. Rockwell, G.S. McCue, and Professor William A. Eddy as a possible source for the first book of Gulliver's Travels. The passage, which appeared in the first number of The Weekly Comedy, describes the discovery of an island off the coast of Ireland where:

the Natives, I am inform'd are such a diminutive Race of Tom Thumbs, that the Discoverers first took 'em to be Children, till they came near enough the Mortals to discern their Beards' none of 'em exceeding the height of a large Coffee-Pot, and yet, as 'tis said, are such Little, Brisk, Nimble, Hot-Mettled Fellows, that they no more fear a Man of twice their Bigness, than a Knight Errant does a Monster . . . ; their Sheep are no bigger than English Rabbits, but very delicious food; their Wool being Cole-black, and their Horns white as Ivory. Their Cows are all Milk white, with Nut Brown Tails; and are so very large that their Dairy-Maids are forc'd to stand bolt upright upon a Buffet-stool to milk 'em. Their Horses are shap'd like our Grey Hounds, but as tall as Asses, their Bodies of a Dun Colour, with a White List down their Backs, but their Mains and Tails are finely dappled, every single Hair being of divers Colours. Their Mastiff Dogs are no bigger than Guinea Pigs; and yet, like the People, are of that Courage, they will Fight the Devil.<sup>4</sup>





Swift, himself, mentions Ward in the introduction to Genteel and Ingenious Conversation: "I am and have been likewise, particularly acquainted with Mr. Charles Gildon, Mr. Ward, Mr. Dennis, that admirable Critick and Poet; and several others."<sup>5</sup>

One of the problems with a writer like Ward is that major literary figures would refuse to admit or even to recognize they were influenced by a "Grubstreet scribbler." The result is that despite the success he enjoyed and the effect that he may have had on other writers, it becomes extremely difficult to make a positive statement about the extent of his influence on later eighteenth-century writers.

Addison and Steele, although no direct influence by Ward can be shown, likely profited from the experience to be gained by studying his works. The journalistic nature of the Tatler and the Spectator and their focus on the events of London connect them with Ward, particularly his London Spy. Steele's satiric "duelling challenge" is highly reminiscent of Ward's bullies meeting on Ludgate Hill in the Sixth Number of The London Spy:

Your extraordinary Behaviour last Night, and the Liberty you were pleased to take with me, makes me this Morning give you this, to tell you, because you are an ill-bred Puppy, I will meet you in Hide-Park an Hour hence; and because you want both Breeding and Humanity, I desire you would come with a Pistol in your Hand, on Horseback, and endeavour to shoot me through the Head; to teach you more manners. If you fail of doing me this Pleasure, I shall say, You are a Rascal on every Post in Town: And so Sir, if you will not injure me more, I shall never forgive what you have done already. Pray Sir, do not fail of getting every Thing ready, and you will infinitely oblige.

Sir, Your most Obedient  
Humble Servant, &c. <sup>6</sup>



In a number of instances, issues of the Spectator and the Tatler correspond in theme to issues of The London Spy.<sup>7</sup> There is, however, a marked difference in the treatment of the material. If Addison and Steele are indebted to Ward for a method, they have at the same time improved markedly upon the quality of the material. Where Ward has only disparaging remarks, cast in a rough vernacular, to make while strolling through the Royal Exchange (witness the description of the Dutchmen), Addison is

infinitely delighted in mixing with these several Ministers of Commerce, as they are distinguished by their different Walks and different Languages: Sometimes I am justled among a Body of Armenians: Sometimes I am lost in a Crowd of Jews; and sometimes make one in a Groupe of Dutch-men. I am a Dane, Swede, or Frenchman at different times, or rather fancy my self like the old Philosopher, who upon being asked what Country-man he was, replied, That he was a citizen of the World.<sup>8</sup>

Addison's view is always larger than Ward's. Where Ward is impressed with the physical size of Westminster Abbey, Addison, in the character of Sir Roger, is moved to comment upon concerns of a more profound nature:

When I look upon the Tombs of the Great, every Emotion of Envy dies in me; when I read the Epitaphs of the Beautiful, every inordinate Desire goes out; when I meet with the Grief of Parents upon a Tomb-stone, my heart melts with Compassion; when I see the Tomb of the Parents themselves, I consider the Vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow: When I see Kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival Wits placed Side by Side, or the holy Men that divided the World with their Contests and Disputes, I reflect with Sorrow and Astonishment on the little Competitions, Factions, and Debates of Mankind.<sup>9</sup>



The specific differences, however, are couched in a setting of general sameness and, perhaps, indicate an improvement of a theme which Addison and Steele learned from Edward Ward.

Another important feature of Ward's work is his unusual style. Ward, unlike his predecessors, developed a novelistic style. He created a dramatic background for his narrative. The finest example of this tendency is The London Spy. His stroll becomes an event in itself, and as the work progresses it discloses portraits of individuals and places which, as they form part of a connected narrative, gain a measure of interest from the context in which they appear. Ward increased the reader's curiosity and helped assure the sale of the following number by attempting always to leave a particularly interesting tale half told or by promising better to come. The First Number of The London Spy ends with the promise that:

Having spent the time at the tavern till about ten o'clock, with mirth and satisfaction, we are most desirous of prying into the dark intrigues of the town, to experience what pastime the night accident, the whims and frolics of staggering bravadoes, and strolling strumpets might afford us. An account of which we will give you in our next.<sup>10</sup>

(Hayward, 21)

The Fifth Number ends in much the same manner, giving a promise of interesting events to follow. The Tenth Number ends with a description of Bartholomew Fair which Ward leaves only half told. The reader must buy the Eleventh Number to complete the visit to the Fair.

One of Ward's most effective devices is to recreate a scene



in its most realistic sense. The result is that the reader experiences it not as a voyeur but as a participant. The impact of his social criticism presented in this manner, as previously suggested, is much stronger than simply an unemotional list of needed social changes.<sup>11</sup> Part of the success which Hogarth and Fielding achieved<sup>12</sup> in their fights for social reform is a result of their ability to present their cases in the emotionally charged manner which Ward used.

Another aspect of Ward's style is his use of racy, colloquial language. He was writing for an English audience of a decidedly lower middle-class type and the subjects which Ward chose, the Thames experience for example, and his manner of expressing them in "the language of the street" created an immediate rapport with the reader. Even Gay in his Trivia does not manage to immerse the reader in the London streets to the degree in which Ward succeeds. There is no doubt that Ward is catering to a lower side of his reader's sensibilities, but it is also true that this aspect of both his reader and London life existed and has not found a better reporter than Ward. Witness his description of a group of Fish-mongers:

After we had loosed ourselves, with much difficulty, from the unparalleled insolency of Charon's progeny [Thames watermen], we turned from a crowd of thumb-ringed flat-caps, from the age of seven to seventy, who sat snarling and grunting at one another over their sprats and whittings, like a pack of domestic dogs over the cook-maid's kindness, or a parcel of hungry sows at a trough of hogwash.<sup>13</sup>

(Hayward, 41-42)







Innumerable examples of Ward's ability to capture the life of London in its most bawdy and lurid moments could be cited. Undoubtedly much of his success lies in his ability to create a living portrait of the city and to make the page a part of the reality of the reader. The reader today has the same immediate picture of early eighteenth-century London available to him. It is here, if anywhere, that Ward's greatest achievement lies.

It is unfortunate that the modern reader has available to him only Hayward's carefully edited version of The London Spy. Editing has destroyed the spontaneity of the original and removed it from the streets which Ward portrayed so vividly. There is a definite need for an edition which is true to its author's tastes and which allows the modern reader to experience London as it was experienced in the original London Spy.

Both Hudibras Redivivus and The London Spy have value for the modern student: the latter as a view of London as it appeared to the average Londoner of 1700 and as a blueprint for much of the literature that was to follow, the former as an example of the political interests of the time and an insight into the "Grubstreet" literature to which Pope and Swift objected. There is no doubt that a knowledge of the work of Ward will enhance any study of the better known writers who followed him.



WARD'S HUDIBRAS REDIVIVUS

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 90.

<sup>2</sup>Ward divided Hudibras Redivivus into two volumes of twelve parts each. Parts I - XII of Volume I were issued at irregular intervals from August 28, 1705 to July 27, 1706. Parts I - XII of Volume II were issued at irregular intervals from August 15, 1706, to somewhere in June 1707. See Troyer, 243.

<sup>3</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 97.

<sup>4</sup>"During the winter session of Parliament 1704 and 1705, Nottingham and other High Tories 'Tacked' the Occasional Conformity Bill to the supply. That Bill, aimed against the Dissenters and the Whig influence in Corporations and Parliamentary elections, had been lost in the Lords in two successive sessions, after passing the Tory House of Commons with enthusiasm. It had become the touchstone of party feeling. It was hoped that by putting it in the same bill as the Land Tax, the financial mainstay of the war, the Lords would be compelled to pass it." Those who backed this policy were dubbed "Tackers." See Trevelyan, Ramillies, 28.

<sup>5</sup>Although the Whigs were only reservedly behind the Union with Scotland, they were strongly opposed to the cry that the Church of England was in danger. They were in full support of the continental war and in favor of the Hanoverian succession. See Green, Short History of the English People, 306, 324, 327, 328 and Trevelyan, Ramillies, 157, 347, 427.

<sup>6</sup>Trevelyan, Ramillies, 102.

<sup>7</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 94.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 95.



<sup>10</sup>Pinkus, Grubstreet Stripped Bare, 16.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 231.

<sup>12</sup>The Considerations and Proposals in order to the Regulation of the Press were:

"What books, libels, and positions are to be suppressed.

First, all printed papers pressing the murder of the late King.

Secondly, all printed justifications of that execrable Act.

Thirdly, all treatises denying His Majesty's title to the Crown of England.

Fourthly, all libels against the person of His Sacred Majesty, his blessed Father, or the Royal Family.

Fifthly, all discourses manifestly tending to stir up the people against the established Government.

Sixthly, all positions terminating in this treasonous conclusion, that, His Majesty may be arraigned, judged, and executed by his people. . . ."  
See Pinkus, Grubstreet Stripped Bare, 229.

<sup>13</sup>Stevens, Party Politics and English Journalism, 12.

<sup>14</sup>Pinkus, Grubstreet Stripped Bare, 241.

<sup>15</sup>Stevens, Party Politics and English Journalism, 12.

<sup>16</sup>Edward Ward, Hudibras Redivivus: Or, A Burlesque On the Times. The Second Edition, to which is added, An Apology, and some other Improvements throughout the Whole. London, Printed: And sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1708. Vol. I, Part V, 6-7. Unless otherwise noted the edition referred to will be the second edition of 1708.

<sup>17</sup>Lee, Daniel Defoe, His Life and Recently Discovered Writings, I, 114.

<sup>18</sup>Defoe stated with regard to Drake's Memorial:  
"On all occasions I have shewn it as a Thing which carries its own evidence along with it, requiring nothing to move the people of England to a suitable abhorrence of it, but to have it seen."  
See Lee, Defoe, I, 114.



<sup>19</sup>Pinkus, Grubstreet Stripped Bare, 252.

<sup>20</sup>Ward was undoubtedly an acquaintance of Tom Brown and more than likely a close friend. There is no doubt that Drake and Brown were close friends. It is quite likely therefore that Ward's defence of Drake was a result of either his own friendship with Drake through Brown or simply Ward's friendship with Brown. See Boyce, Tom Brown of Facetious Memory, 128

<sup>21</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part II, Canto III, 13.

<sup>22</sup>"Marlborough's plan of attack along the line of the Moselle was defeated by the refusal of the Dutch Imperial army to join him. When he entered the French lines across the Dyle, the Dutch generals withdrew their troops; and his proposal to attack the Duke of Villeroy on the field of Waterloo was rejected in full council of war by the deputies of the Dutch States with cries of 'murderer' and 'massacre.'" See Green, Short History of the English People, II, 322.

<sup>23</sup>Able Boyer, The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, year the Fourth, Containing the most Memorable Transactions, both at home and abroad: And in which are inserted several Valuable Pieces, never before printed. London: Printed for Francis Coggan, in the Inner-Temple-Lane, 1706, 192-196.

<sup>24</sup>Trevelyan, Ramillies, 106.

<sup>25</sup>Lee, Daniel Defoe, I, 121.

<sup>26</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part IV, Canto VI, 19.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>28</sup>See F.N. 21.

<sup>29</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part IV, Canto VI, 22.

<sup>30</sup>The "Tinker" mentioned by Ward is a clear reference to Defoe's "Tinker."

<sup>31</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part VI, Canto VI, 23.

<sup>32</sup>Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne, 21.





<sup>33</sup>In 1707 Ward published a work based on coffee-house activities titled The Humours of a Coffee-House; A comedy as it is Daily Acted by [List of Characters].

<sup>34</sup>Holmes, British Politics, 29.

<sup>35</sup>Trevelyan, Ramillies, 46.

<sup>36</sup>Jonathan Swift, Journal to Stella, March 4, 1711.

<sup>37</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part III, Canto IV, 25-26.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 25-26.

<sup>39</sup>Trevelyan, Blenheim, 348.

<sup>40</sup>Pinkus, Grubstreet Stripped Bare, 16.

<sup>41</sup>Holmes, British Politics, 30.

<sup>42</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 121.

<sup>43</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part II, Canto III, 22.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 25-26.

<sup>45</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 4.

<sup>46</sup>Sutherland, English Satire, 36.

#### WARD'S DEBT TO SAMUEL BUTLER

#### FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 90.

<sup>2</sup>Hudibras consists of three parts each containing three cantos, with An Heroical Epistle of Hudibras to Sidrophel appended to



Part II and two epistles added at the very end of the poem. Ostensibly Hudibras is a mock-heroic, and as anti-heroes Butler presents a Presbyterian colonel and knight, named Hudibras, and Ralpho, an Independent in religion, who is the knight's squire. The two remotely resemble Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. The poem was published in three parts. The first appeared in 1663, the second in 1664 and the third in 1678.

<sup>3</sup>Wilders believes that the first part of Hudibras was composed between 1658 and 1660; however, because of publication dates the position of the Presbyterians as a "frozen" issue would not be altered.

<sup>4</sup>Richards, Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition, 57.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 22.

<sup>6</sup>Hannay, Satire and Satirists, 132.

<sup>7</sup>Butler, Hudibras, III, i, 1221-1222.

<sup>8</sup>Richards, Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition, 19.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 9.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 166.

<sup>11</sup>See Ward's description of a Low-Church Anglican on page 13 of this essay.

<sup>12</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part II, Canto II, 10.

<sup>13</sup>The reference by Ward in this section is to a work titled Fair Shell, but a Rotten Kernel: Or, A Bitter Nut for a Facetious Monkey (London 1705). Troyer lists the work as a "Doubtful Attribution"; however, he also claims that Ward did not alter his insulting section on Queen Anne until the fourth edition of Hudibras Redivivus which indicates that Troyer did not have a copy of the second edition, in which the change Ward places in the fourth had already been made. Ward very probably left the section referring to Bitter Nuts out of the later edition, as it seems hard in the light of this passage to list Bitter Nuts as a "Doubtful Attribution."

<sup>14</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part V, Canto VII, 19-20.



- <sup>15</sup>Trevelyan, Blenheim, 100.
- <sup>16</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 91.
- <sup>17</sup>Richards, Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition, 166.
- <sup>18</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part IV, Canto V, 11.
- <sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.
- <sup>20</sup>Butler, Hudibras, ed. John Wilders, xxxiii.
- <sup>21</sup>Butler, Characters and Notebooks, 278.
- <sup>22</sup>Richards, Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition, 27.
- <sup>23</sup>Butler, Characters and Notebooks, 278.
- <sup>24</sup>Ian Jack, "Samuel Butler and 'Hudibras,'" in From Dryden to Johnson, ed. Boris Ford, 117.
- <sup>25</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part IV, Canto V, 8.
- <sup>26</sup>Ian Jack, "Samuel Butler and 'Hudibras,'" in From Dryden to Johnson, ed. Boris Ford, 121.
- <sup>27</sup>Dowden, Puritans and Anglicans, 303.
- <sup>28</sup>Richards, Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition, 10.
- <sup>29</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 91.
- <sup>30</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Preface to the 2nd edition.
- <sup>31</sup>Ward, A Trip to Jamaica, 2.
- <sup>32</sup>Thomas Brown tells exactly the same story in his Amusements Serious and Comical (1699). This is quite likely the source for the incident.



<sup>33</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part II, Canto XIV, 26.

<sup>34</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 208.

<sup>35</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part II, Canto VII, 8.

<sup>36</sup>The instruction, if Butler meant to instruct, is implied, but seldom stated. Much of the poem consists of conversation, the satire being conveyed largely through the medium of the characters, their speech and actions; rarely does the author intrude in the first person, except in the opening passages of cantos. See Richards, Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition, 38.

<sup>37</sup>William Lilly (Lyly) was the first head of St. Paul's School and in collaboration with Colet and Erasmus wrote a Latin grammar which is perhaps the most influential of all English textbooks. John Booker was Lilly's aid. See Brooke, The Renaissance, 327-38.

<sup>38</sup>Butler, Hudibras, III, iii, 1-10.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., III, iii, 55-56.

<sup>40</sup>Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, Vol. I, Part IX, Canto XIV, 5.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Vol. I, Part V, Canto VIII, 1-2.

#### WARD'S LONDON SPY

#### FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>The popularity of Ward's Trip to Jamaica produced a number of imitations attempting to cash in on the interest in the travel narrative. In 1699 A Trip to Holland appeared; later in the same year A Journey to Scotland was published; in 1701 A Trip to North Wales, in 1703 A Trip to St. Helena, in 1705 A Trip to Spain, and in 1708 The Sot-Weed Factor, or a Voyage to Maryland. Ward followed his Jamaica publication with A Trip to New England, A Trip to Ireland, and A Trip to Germany.





<sup>2</sup>Ward, A Trip to Jamaica, 14.

<sup>3</sup>Ward, The London Spy, The Third Edition, London, Printed and Sold by J. How, in the Ram-Head-Inn-Yard in Fanchurch-Street, 1701. All references will be to this edition; however since it is not generally available, the quotations in the text will be from the 1927 edition edited by Arthur L. Hayward and published by Cassell and Co. Where the Cassell edition and the 1701 edition differ in more than spelling and/or punctuation the section from the 1701 edition will appear in the footnotes. This quotation is from the earlier edition; however, the page in Hayward is given in the text. In future all quotations will be from Hayward. The London Spy, Vol. I, Part VI, 10.

<sup>4</sup>"After we had squeez'd ourselves thro' a Crowd of Bumfirking-Italians, we fell into a throng of Strait-Lac'd Monsters in Fur, and Thrum Caps with huge Loggerheads and Effeminate Wastes, and Buttocks like a Flanders-Mare, with Slovenly Mein, Swinish Looks, whose upper lips were gracefully adorn'd with T[ur]d colour'd Whiskers, these with their Gloves under their Arms, and their Hands in their Pockets, were grunting to each other like hogs at their Pease; these my Friend told me, were Dutchmen the Water-Rats of Europe, who Love no body but themselves, and Fatten upon the Spoils, and Build their own Well-fare upon the Ruine of their Neighbours." Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part III, 14.

<sup>5</sup>Boswell, Life of Johnson, 1083.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1083.

<sup>7</sup>"'You couple of treacherous Sons of Bridewell B[itch]es, who are Pimps to your own Mothers, Stallions to your own Sisters, and Cock-Bawds to the rest of your relations; Who were begot by Huggling, spew'd up, and not born; and Christen'd out of a Chamber-pot; How dare you show your Ugly Faces upon the River of Theames, and fright the King's Swans from holding their heads above Water?' To which our well-fed Pilot, after he had clear'd his Voice with a Hem, most manfully Reply'd, 'You Lousie starv'd Crew of Worm-pickers, and Snail-Catchers; You Offspring of a Dunghill, and Brothers to a Pumkin, who can't afford Butter to your Cabbage, or Bacon to your Sprouts; You shitten Rogues, who worship the Fundament because you live by a Turd; who was that sent the Gardiner to cut a hundred of Sparragrass, and dug twice in his Wives Parsley-bed before the Good-man came back again: Hold your tongues you Knitty Radishmongers, or I'll whet my Needle upon mine A[s]s and sow your Lips together.'" Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part VII, 4.



<sup>8</sup> Pinkus, Grubstreet Stripped Bare, 189.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 189.

<sup>10</sup> Antal, Hogarth, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 221 F.N. 69.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>13</sup> The list of correspondences between Hogarth and Ward is quite large; however, I will list here only a few of the more obvious: Hogarth's "Breakfast at the Nag's Head" and Ward's breakfast at the beginning of Number Three of The London Spy; Hogarth's "Harlot's Progress," "Rake's Progress," and various descriptions in The London Spy, particularly the descriptions of Bridewell and Bedlam in Number Six and Three respectively; Hogarth's "Southwark Fair," and Ward's description of Bartholomew Fair in Numbers Ten and Eleven of The London Spy; Hogarth's "A Club of Gentlemen" and Ward's description of Man's Coffee-House in Number Nine of The London Spy; Hogarth's "Lord Mayor's Show" and Ward's description of the same event in Number Twelve of The London Spy.

<sup>14</sup> Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part VIII, 8.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, Part V, 6.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>17</sup> Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part II, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, Part IV, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>20</sup> "Why truly, said I, if I must deliver my Opinion according to my real Sentiments, I only conceive it may make many Whores, but that it can in no measure reclaim 'em; And these are my Reasons:

First, If a Girl of Thirteen or Fourteen years of Age, as I have seen some such here, either thro' the Ignorance, or Childishness of their Youth, or Unhappiness of a stubborn Temper, should be guilty of Negligence in their Business, or prove Head-strong, Humoursome, or Obstinate, and thro' an Ungovernable Temper, take Pleasure to do things in disobedience to the Will of their Master and Mistress, or be guilty



of a trifling Wrong or Injury, thro' inadvertency, they have Power at home to give them Reasonable Correction, without exposing 'em to this Shame and Scandal, which is never to be wash'd off by the most reform'd Life imaginable, which unhappy stain makes them always shunn'd by Virtuous and Good People, who will neither entertain a Servant, or admit of a Companion under this Disparagement; the one being fearful of their Goods, and the other of their Reputation, till the poor Wretch by her Necessity is at last drove into the hands of Ill Persons, and forc'd to betake herself to bad Conversation, till she is insensibly Corrupted, and make fit for all wickedness.

Secondly, I think it a shameful Indecency for a Woman to expose her Naked Body to the Sight of Men and Boys, as if it was rather design'd to feast the Eyes of the Spectators, or stir up the Beastly Appetites of Lecherous Persons, than to correct Vice, or reform Manners; therefore I think it both more Modest, and more Reasonable they should receive their Punishment by the hand of their own Sex.

Thirdly, As their Bodies by Nature are more tender, and their Constitutions allow'd more weak, we ought to shew them more Mercy, and not Punish them with such Dog like Usage, unless their Crimes were Capital." Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part VI, 12.

<sup>21</sup>Dudden, Henry Fielding, II, 961.

<sup>22</sup>Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part I, 4.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., Vol. II, Part IV, 13-4.

<sup>24</sup>"The literary genre known as the prose character owes its origin to Theophrastus, a devoted follower of Aristotle and the latter's successor as head of the Peripatetic School in Athens. The thirty "characters" of his which have come down to us were composed about 319 B.C. Each is a short self-contained sketch, setting forth concretely and with almost complete objectivity a representative human type. All the types thus portrayed illustrate unfavorable qualities. Theophrastus' purpose was fundamentally a moral one, and his ethical principles were those of his master Aristotle. In dwelling upon the vices of humanity he was probably marking out those extremes of conduct and character between which, according to Aristotelian doctrine, virtue is to be sought as a mean. It has been suggested that Theophrastus did in fact write another set of complementary "characters" devoted exclusively to admirable types, but if a second series ever existed it has not come to light." White, Wallerstein and Quintana, Seventeenth-Century Verse and Prose, 157.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 159.





<sup>26</sup>"Sir Thomas Overbury was a courtier, lawyer, and man of affairs, who took service under Robert Carr, later Earl of Somerset. Having opposed his patron's marriage to the divorced Countess of Essex, he was sent to the Tower on a pretext, and there, apparently, slowly poisoned. Overbury's reputation as an innocent victim of courtly intriguers lent wings to the popularity of his Characters." Abrams, The Norton Anthology of English Literature, I, 1274.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 1274.

<sup>28</sup>Some of the publications to follow in the wake of Overbury's Characters were John Stephen's Satirical Essays, Characters, and Others (1615), Nicholas Breton's Characters upon Essays, Moral and Divine (1615) and The Good and the Bad, or Descriptions of the Worthies and Unworthies of this Age (1616), Geoffrey Minshull's Essays and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners (1618), Richard Brathwait's Essays upon the Five Senses (1620) and Whimzies (1631), and John Earle's Micro-cosmographie (1628).

<sup>29</sup>Abrams, The Norton Anthology, I, 1275. In his work on Ward, Troyer includes a later set of rules for writing "character sketches." It is taken from Ralph Johnson's The Scholar's Guide from the Accidence to the University (London, 1665).

"1. Chuse a Subject, viz, such a sort of men as will admit of a variety of observation, such be, drunkards, usurers, lawyers, an upstart gentleman, a young Justice, a Constable, an Alderman, and the like.

2. Express their natures, qualities, conditions, practices, tools, desires, aims, or ends, by witty Allegories or Allusions, to things or terms in nature, or art, of like nature and resemblance, still striving for wit and pleasantness, together with tart nipping jerks about their vices and miscarriages.

3. Conclude with some witty and neat passage, leaving them to the effect of their follies or studies."

Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 124.

<sup>30</sup>Brooke, The Renaissance, 604.

<sup>31</sup>White, Seventeenth-Century Prose and Poetry, 165-6.

<sup>32</sup>Downer and Kirisch, Restoration, 73-4.

<sup>33</sup>In the same vein were the works of George Savile, Marquess of Halifax who wrote A Character of King Charles (1686), and Sir Robert Naunter who wrote Observations on the Late Queen, Her Times, and Favorites (1630).





<sup>34</sup>Abrams, The Norton Anthology, I, 1277.

<sup>35</sup>In the pages of The London Spy Ward gives descriptions of The East India Company, Head-dresser's shops, Billingsgate, London Bridge, The Royal Exchange, the Guildhall, the Tower and Bridewell. Some of the events he describes are Bartholomew Fair, the eclipse, The Lord Mayor's Show and Dryden's Funeral.

<sup>36</sup>Ward, The London Spy, Vol. II, Part III, 1.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., Vol. II, Part IV, 12.

<sup>38</sup>Some of the works entirely based on "character sketches" published by Ward after The London Spy are The Reformer, Exposing the Vices of the Age: In several Characters. Viz. I. The Vitious Courtier. 2. The Debauch'd Parson. 3. The Factious Hypocrite. 4. The Precise Quaker. 5. The Covetous Miser. 6. The Prodigal Son. 7. The City Letcher. 8. The Insatiate Wife. 9. The Amorous Maid. 10. The Beau Apprentice. 11. The City Mob. 12. The Country Squire (1700); The Wooden World Dissected In the Characters of [List of Characters] (1708); Mars Stript of his Armour: Or, The Army Display'd in all its True Colours. Containing the Characters of [List of Characters] (1708); The Modern World Disrobed: or, Both Sexes Stript of their pretended Vertue. In Two Parts. First, Of the Ladies: Secondly of the Gentlemen. With Familiar Descant upon every Character (1708); and A Compleat and Humorous Account of all the Remarkable Clubs and Societies in the Cities of London and Westminster, From the R[oya]l S[ociet]y down to the Lumber-Troop, etc. Their Original with Characters of the most noted Members (1745).

<sup>39</sup>Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part VI, 4.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Vol. I, Part XII, 14.

<sup>41</sup>John Gay, Trivia, Book II, lines 91-108.

<sup>42</sup>Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part VIII, 9.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., Vol. I, Part V, 15.



## CONCLUSION

## FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup>See Antal, Hogarth, 221, F.N. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Ehrenpreis, Swift, II, 200.

<sup>3</sup>See Boyce, Tom Brown of Facetious Memory, 130-133, and Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 81-82.

<sup>4</sup>Troyer, Ned Ward of Grubstreet, 129.

<sup>5</sup>Swift, Prose Works, IV, 118. It should be noted that this reference is obviously ironic as it is followed by: "Let the Popes, the Gays, the Arbuthnots, the Youngs, and the rest of that snarling Brood, burst with Envy at the Praises we receive from the Court, and Kingdom."

<sup>6</sup>Steele, Tatler, No. 25.

<sup>7</sup>It is of interest to note that Ward devoted a number of publications to satiric looks at London clubs. Unfortunately his humour in all these cases was unusually gross. However, his interest in clubs is mirrored in the pages of the Tatler and Spectator, where not only are individual issues given to lightly drawn satiric portraits of clubs, but included is the formation of the fictional Spectator Club with its well known members Sir Roger, Sir Andrew, Will Honeycomb, Captain Sentry and the Templar. See Spectator Nos. 9, 17, 30, 43, 73, 78, and 474.

<sup>8</sup>Addison, Spectator, No. 69.

<sup>9</sup>Addison, Spectator, No. 26.

<sup>10</sup>Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part I, 23.

<sup>11</sup>The success of Upton Sinclair's The Jungle is only one example of the persuasive advantages of the emotional over the statistical. Dickens makes the same kinds of claims for his works.



<sup>12</sup>Hogarth's "The Four Stages of Cruelty" supported Fielding's campaign against the tremendous amount of murder and robbery in London and appeared in the same year as Fielding's Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers. This elaborate pamphlet initiated a revision of the criminal laws in Parliament. Fielding and Hogarth are also given credit for being major forces in the passing of the so-called "Tippling Act" against the sale of cheap gin. See Antal, Hogarth, 11.

<sup>13</sup>Ward, The London Spy, Vol. I, Part III, 3.



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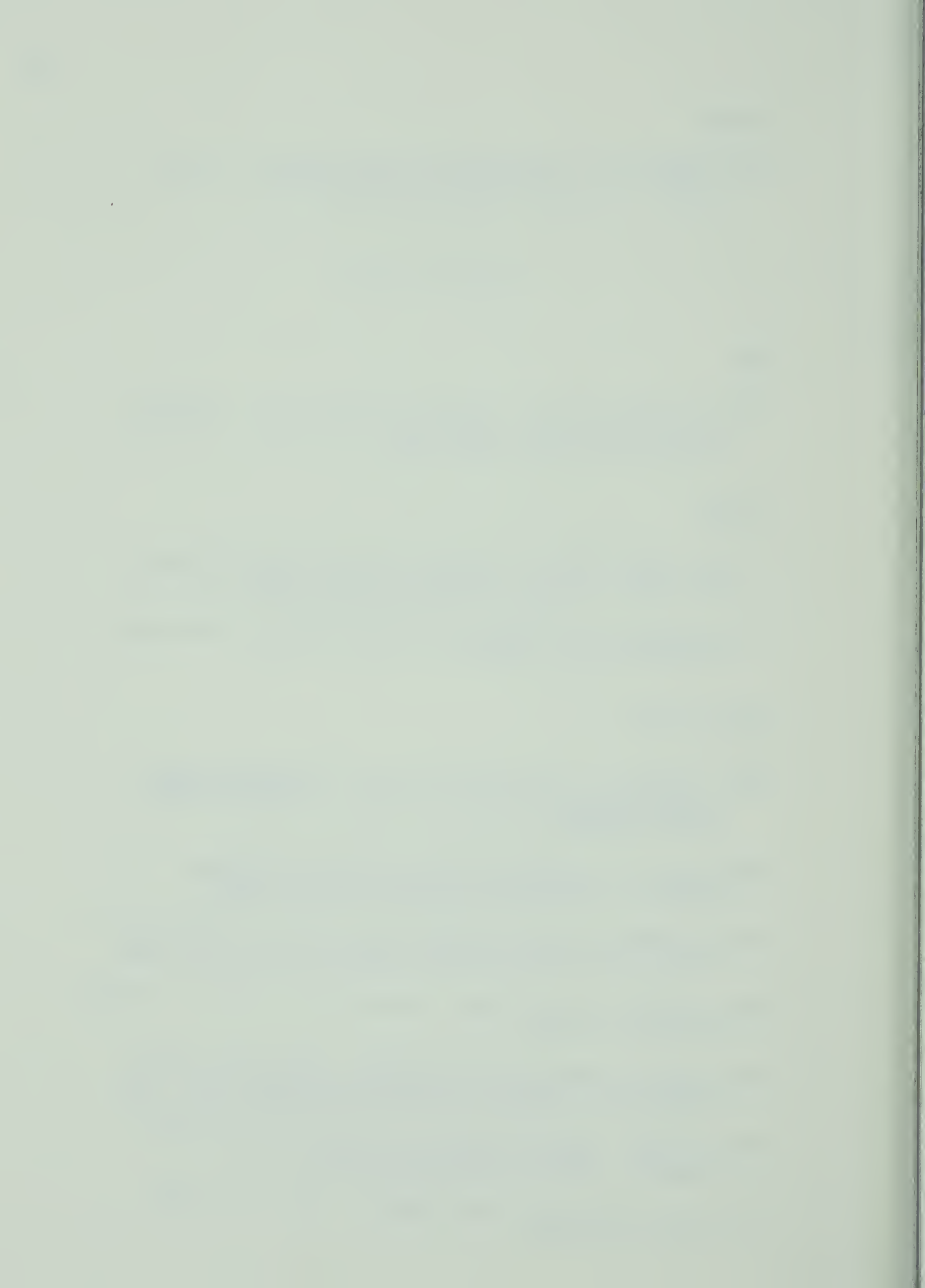
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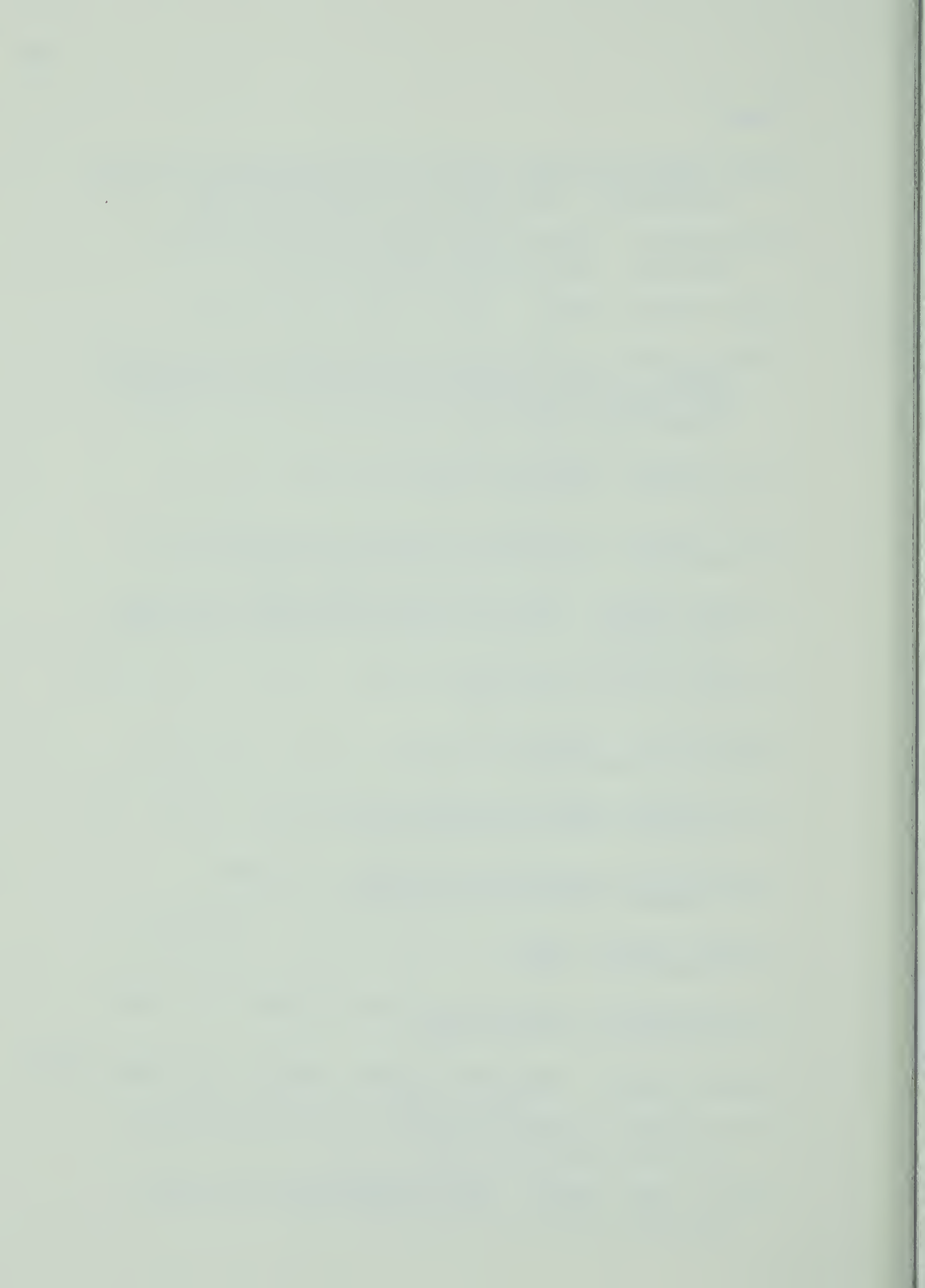
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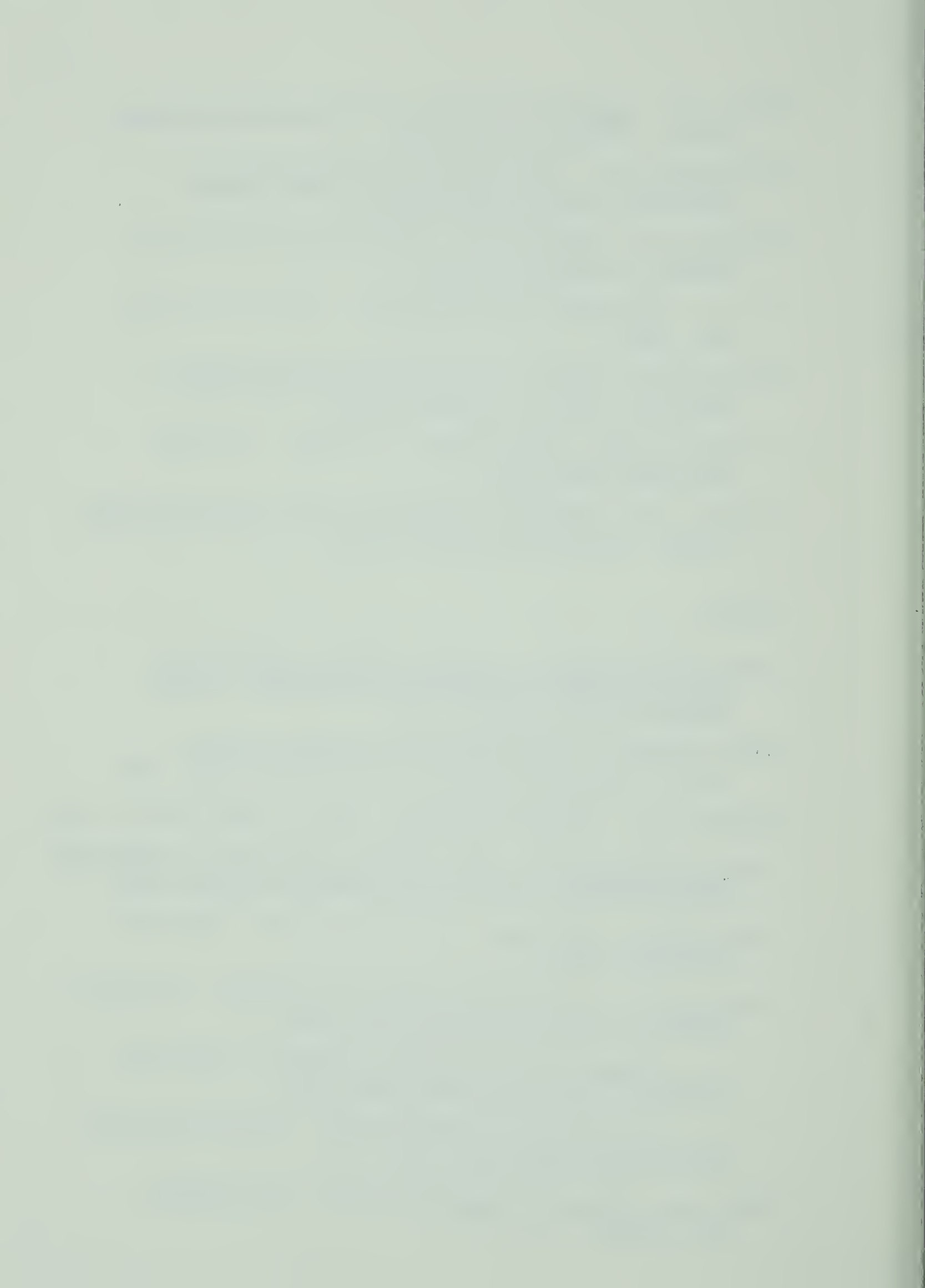
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